e John Denne.

THE HISTORY OF THE ICONOCLASTS, DVRING THE REIGN of the Emperors

LEO ISAVRICVS,
CONSTANTIN COPRONIMVS,
LEO THE FOVRTH,
CONSTANTIN AND IRENE,
LEO THE ARMENIAN,
MICHAEL BALBVS,
THEOPHILVS,
MICHAEL III. AND THEODORA,

Written by THOMAS ANDERTON,

and

DEDICATED TO THE QVEEN.

Anno 1671.

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TO HER
SACRED MAIESTY,

CATHERINE
OF PORTVGAL,
QVEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

MADAM,

Tvvo Soueraign Princesses, Theodora *and* Irene, *becom joint Petitioners to your Majesty, and implore your protection against those injuries don to their memory and merit by our modern* Icono-

clasts. *The maligning VVorm* Enuy, *takes to itself the same priuilege to gnavv the fame of those after their decease, vvhom eminent Virtue had made the object of that squintey'd vice, as common VVorms do to feed on their Carkasses. But as the due reuerence to the sacred Persons of Princes has introduc't that decent custom of embaulming their Bodies, preseruiug them thus as much as may be from corruption; so, much more ought the Names of those vvhose Virtue has honoured the Royal dignity, bee embaulmed also; that so, they may by the fragrant odours breathing from their precious memories, stifle and driue avvay that uenemous* Insect. *To perform this office,* MADAM, *is the proper*

duty of thoſe of your Rank, and Virtue. Nor is the task ſuch as vvill ſtrain either your povver or goodneſs to their utmoſt credit; the only imputation vvhich aſſaults thoſe Princeſſes repute being their piety in reſtoring the religious uſe and veneration of holy Images to the Eaſtern Empire: a vvork ſo glorious and Heroik (as preſeruing aliue in the hearts of the generality of Chriſtians a more expreſs conceit and frequent memory of moſt matters of Faith, and beſt Motiues to deuotion) that it giues thoſe Princeſſes a particular Title and a moſt iuſt claim to your Majeſties protection and Patronage.

This is not the firſt tyme, MADAM, *great ſoueraigns haue ſubmitted themſelues to the Royal fa-*

mily of Portugal, vvhoſe ſingular prerogatiue it is, to haue more tributary Kings, than any other hath Allyes, or Relations. To this unparalleld glory, MADAM, your Anceſtors haue bin miraculouſly rayſed for their deuotion to ſo Chriſtian a vvorship. You all inherited this piety from the firſt King of Portugal Don Alfonſe Henriques, to vvhom our Sauior shevved himſelf in his crucified Image in the Ouriquian fields the night before he triumphed ouer fiue povverfull Mahometan Kings. To this glorious Monark did Chriſt then declare, he did chooſe Portugal for his ovvn Kingdom, and promiſed him that his progeny and people should plant and propagat the Goſpell in the moſt remote and

Alphõſus Henricus Dux Luſitaniæ cœleſti viſo, oblataq; Chriſti crucifixi ſpecie erectus, & ab exercitu Rex ſalutatus, cũ Iſmaele aliiſq; Saracenis Regibus acie conflixit, divinaque ope hoſtẽ profligavit. *Turſellin. in Epitom. an. 1153. Chron. S. Bern. 1. part.*

unknovvn Nations of the Vniuers: *This profecy needs no other proof or Comment than the portugueſe Colonies and Conqueſts in* Aſia, Afrik, *and* America. *But vvee need not go ſo far, The uery Original account both of the Viſion and prediction under Don* Alfonſo Henriques *his ovvn hand, is yet extant amongſt the moſt authentik Records of Portugal; and leaſt that ſhould be outvvorn by tyme, he hath left an euerlaſting monument of its truth, and of his ovvn thanks to God for ſo great a fauor, the Royal Monaſtery of* Alcobaça *of St* Bernards *Order, vvhich he built and founded vvith the ſpoyles of his uictory in memory of the miraculous uiſion and prediction.*

MADAM, *it vvere tedious to name the other Kings your Anceſtors vvho haue bin remarkable for their deuotion to holy Images, and by that meanes obtaind revvards as ſignal as vvas that their godlineſs. Yet I can not omit the fortunat King* Manoel, *from vvhom the Royal line of* Bragança *deriues its cleer right to the Croun; a Prince ſo zealouſly addicted to that Chriſtian practiſe, that he conſecrated to God the firſt gold vvhich he receiued from his tributary Kings and conqueſts of* India, *by crouning ther vvith the ſtatues of our Sauior and his bleſſed Mother vvhich ſtand in top of that high Promontory, vvhere the famous* Tagus *povvreth its vvaters, and payeth its Tribute of gol-*

Noſſa Senhora da Penha.

den ſands

den ſands to the Ocean. Out of that almoſt inacceſsible and inuiſible rock King Manoels piety and powver conſpired to cut out a Monaſtery of St Hieroms *Order, a Miracle of his magnificence, as vvell as a mirrour of thoſe Monks ſanctity, vvhoſe contemplation raiſeth their ſouls aboue all vvorldly concerns, as that Mountain doth their bodyes aboue the clouds.*

It vvould be an unpardonable forgetfulneſs, MADAM, *to paſs ouer in ſilence the name of your glorious Father King* Iohn the 4. *of moſt happy memory (to vvhom I had the honor to be knovven) ſeing Chriſt himſelf did as good as name him to King* Alfonſo Henriques, *aſſuring him that though the Royal line and Kingdom of*

Portugal should be extenuated *and brought lovv in the 16. generation or deſcent (vvhich vvas King* Sebaſtian *) yet he vvould aftervvards reſtore it to its ancient greatneß and ſplendor. This laſt part of the profecy vve haue ſeen fulfilld in that moſt happy King your Father, and in ſo miraculous a manner, that the ſucceß doth ſufficiently proue the prediction vvas ſupernatural, it being naturaly impoßible that a vaſt Empire intirely and quietly poſſeſſed for three ſcore years, should in an inſtant be transferd to an other line, and ovvn an other gouernment vvith the loß only of one mans life (* Secretary Vaſconcellos) *as if the Angel Guardian of Portugal had vvhiſperd ſom reuelation into mẽs*

minds, that such vvas Gods vvill, and by that meanes, ſtupified the Caſtilians *into an avvfull reuerence and ſubmiſsion to that heauen deſignd change. That all Citadells and fortified Caſtells held by that oppoſit party should tamely yeeld at the uery ſound of your Fathers Royal name vvithout needing his Arms, is ſo unparallelld a piece of ſtory, as is able to make poſterity look upon it as Proteſtants do upon Catholik Miracles. The fabulous head of* Gorgon, *or the* Caduceus *of* Mercury *vvas neuer counterfeited to haue vvrought ſo uniuerſal a charm; and the late jeſt of the tvvo Kings of* Bramford *diſpoſſeſt in a trice, and others as quickly inueſted, by only ſeizing tvvo chairs in vvhich the former Kings*

In the Duke of Buquinghams Play, or Reherſal.

had ſate, looſes much of its edge in the verity of this almoſt parallell ſuddennes in a change of far greater importance.

This great and prudent King attributed his miraculous reſtauration and preſeruation (vvhich, vvere it novv ſeaſonable to relate the Treaſons againſt him, vvas but litle leſs ſtrange) to his ovvn and his Predeceſſors reuerence to ſacred Images, vvhich they lookt upon as a uery effectual means to ſtirr up their Faith and deuotion; particularly that of the Mother of God at Villauiçoſa, *vvhom hee choſe for Patroneſs of Portugal, and Protectreſs of his Empire. By this deuotion your Anceſtors and their ſubiects haue propagated Chriſtianity more amply than all other*

Kings and Nations of Europe, as euery one may read in moſt illuſtrious purple caracters vvrit in the bloud of Portugueſe Martyrs and Captains in all parts of the vvorld; All under your victorious ſtandard of Chriſts Croſs, and under your Royal Armes, repreſenting the price of our Redemption.

This deuotion hereditary to your family, your Majeſty doth continue in a climat not ſo fauorable to it: All Catholiks are bound to aſſert your and your Anceſtors piety therin, it being a practiſe grounded upon the principles of our Religion, and a manifeſt proof of its truth, vvhich the Portugueſes haue proued moſt cleerly by miraculous and innumerable conuerſions of Pagan Kings and Kingdoms to

Christianity. MADAM, *Flattery is both folly and sacrilege when therby men endeuor to obtain the patronage of such wise and sacred persons as your Majesty: But its neither folly, flattery, or sacrilege, to compare the Kingdom of Portugal (as Christ did his) to a grain of mustardseed, which, though*
Math. 13. *the least of all seeds, produceth herbes or plants, so outstripping their growth, that it becoms a Tree of that height, shade, and strength described by our Sauior in the Ghospel, and by King Nabuchodonosor in his vision to the Prophet*
Dan. 4. *Daniel; whose interpretation may with all truth be literaly applyed to the Kings and Kingdom of Portugal: For, it being one of the least of all Christendom, the virtue*

and ualor of its Princes and people, raiſed it to the higheſt pitch of glory, ſpreading its dominion far beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, bleſsing vvith the beauty and fruit of its royal branches all the Kings and Kingdoms of Europe; and (vvhich is more) shading and sheltring under the fair leaues of the purity of its Faith and diuine vvorship, the four parts of the earth; nay penetrating by its charity euen into the uery Antipodas, *the Iſlands of Iapan, and the great Continent of China, Corea, and Cochin-china. This fair Tree,* MADAM, *vvas cut as leuel to the ground as that of Nabuchodonoſor, but could not be rooted out, the ſtock ſtill remaining in your Royal Houſe of* Bragança; *vvhich*

now we see reuiue and flourish after such pressures as were able to extinguish any other not supported by particular prouidence, and those promised blessings to Don Alfonso Henriques *for his deuotion to sacred Images.*

MADAM, *seing England hath had the happiness to be honoured with the best of these reuiued and royal branches of* Portugal, *it may confidently expect the so much longd-for fruit therof, which hitherto, for our great sins, hath bin diferr'd; but sins, how hainous so euer, can not quite depriue us of a Mercy so eminently merited by your Virtue, and so generaly distributed by God whersoeuer any of your royal family hath reignd. That this blessing may be accele-*

rated,

rated, is the conſtant prayer of him vvho begs your Majeſties patronage for this Hiſtory, and for himſelf your gratious pardon for preſuming to prefix your name in the fronteſpice of ſo homely a vvork.

YOVR MAIESTIES;

Moſt obedient and moſt humble ſubiect.

THOMAS ANDERTON.

THE PREFACE.

OF all Writers the Hiſtorians are moſt unfortunat; if they ſpeak truth, they are hated; if they conceal it, they are deſpiſed; if they be exact, and deſcend to particulars, they are tedious; if ſuccinct, they are imperfect: if they prayſe virtue (though but in a *parentheſis*) they flatter, and if they reprehend vice, they offend. If they make any digreſſions or diſcourſes (though neuer ſo natural or neceſſary) they are impertinent. If they recount ſurpriſing and extraordinary euents, they are fabulous: if they do not, they are not read, and this is the greateſt misfortune of all, except not being belieued. The apprehenſion of theſe cenſures made ſom good wits employ their pens and time in writing of *Romances*, or mock-hiſtories; wherwith they pleaſe the fancying part of mankind, though not the iudicious. Many are ſo taken with this kind of books, and ſo concernd for the good or bad fortune of the chimericall Knights and Ladyes therin mentioned, as to giue viſible marks of ioy, and to teſtify

with teares their ſorow, according to the ſucceſs an idle witty brain hath framed of thoſe fictitious aduentures. Hence it comes to paſs that this way of writing is in ſuch vogue and credit, that the greateſt commendation euen of a true Hiſtory, and the ſureſt way to haue it read, is, to print and paſs it vnder the notion of a *Romance*, or at leaſt to giue Romantik names to the dead or liuing perſons whoſe deſcription is intended.

This Hiſtory needs no ſuch diſguiſe, euery perſon ſhall haue his own name, and owne his own actions, and the Reader (if he be reaſonable) will be more ſatisfied with ſuch true *Originals*, than with fictitious copies or characters; eſpecialy no *Romance* being more diuertiſing than this moſt authentik Relation, whether we conſider the extrauagancy of euents, or the intrigues of Courts, or the varieties of Fortune. It hath ſo many ſurpriſing occurrences and ſo like thoſe of this laſt age, that my feare is, it will be miſtaken either for a feigned *Romance* or for a real account vnder Romantik names, of what we haue ſeen in our dayes. But this laſt will not be ſuſpected by any who conſiders how time, being a reuolution of

things, it hath conſequently this particularity annext to its nature, that it reſtores and repairs its own ruins; and the ſubſequent age doth ſo reſemble the former, that it ſeems to be but a repetition or reproduction of the ſame; wherby it comes to paſs, that the ſame perſons ſeem to be reuiued euery hundred years (not by a *tranſmigration* of ſouls, but by a corruption of manners, and a tranſmutation of bodyes) and meet with themſelues vpon the ſtage of this world vnder other names, acting or oueracting what had bin don before. I muſt confeſſ I think great part of this Hiſtory may, and will be applied to that of the English Proteſtant *Reformation*, not only in the general of the change of Religion by publik Edicts and Acts of Parlament, during the Reign of King Henry 8. Edward 6. Queen Mary; and Queen Elizabeth, but alſo in the particular of the perſons which contriued the change, and contributed moſt therunto. King *Henry* 8. will be ſayd to reſemble Leo Iſauricus. *Cromuell* Erle of Eſſex may be compared to *Conſtantin* of Nacolia *Leo's* chief Aduiſer in the Iconoclaſts Reformation. *Cranmer* Archbishop of Canterbury is a perfect character of *Anaſtaſius* the

reformed Patriark of Conſtantinople, as Cardinal Fisher is of St German the Catholik Patriark and Martyr. Sir *Thomas Moor*, Doctor *Trauers*, and the other learned men who ſuffered for oppoſing King Henry 8. ſupremacy, are not unlike the *AEcumenical* Maſter and his twelue Profeſſors. Queen *Mary* repreſents *Irene*. Cardinal *Pool* the Patriark *Taraſius*. Old Secretary *Cecil*, *Stauracius*. *Dudley* Duke of Northumberland the Captain of the Gards becauſe he oppoſed Queen Maries right and *Religion*. The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, That of *Copronimus*. The Conuocation of the Proteſtant Bishops 1562. the Councel of the Iconoclaſts. The Erle of *Leiceſter*, *Theodote*. Bishop. *Iuel*. *Iohn Yſilas*. Dr *Harding*, *Theodore Studita*. If any will be ſo impertinent and malicious as to ſtretch the perſons and paſſages of this ancient Hiſtory yet further, and to draw them to thoſe of our dayes, they will not find any ground therin to build ſuch foolish fancies upon, the matter of fact, and the ſucceſs (of both times) being ſo different.

How to cleer this hiſtory from the aſperſion of its being a *Romance*, or incredible, is more difficult. All I can ſay is, that not the extrauagancy of ſtrange or mira-

culous euents makes them incredible to vs, but our concern and cuſtom of not believing any which ſhock our intereſt, or ſhake the principles of our education. We believe without difficulty or ſcruple that in the 13. yeare of Queen Elizabeths reign, *neer a little Town of Herefordshire called Kinnaſton, on the 2. of February at ſix of the clock in the euening, the earth began to open, and a Hill with a Rock vnder it, lifted itſelf vp a great height, and began to trauell, bearing along with it the Trees that grew vpon it; the sheepfolds and flocks of sheep abiding there at the ſame time. The whole field was about twenty acres. Paſſing all along it ouerthrew a Chappell ſtanding in the way, thruſt before it high wayes, sheepfolds, hedges and Trees, made tilled ground paſture, and again turnd paſture into Tillage. Hauing walkt in this ſort from ſaturday till munday noon, it then ſtood ſtill.* Is there any ſtory in *Colgan*, *Creſſy*, or other Monks *legends* more incredible than this? And yet we all believe it vpon the teſtimony of the honeſt folks of *Kinnaſton* and *Herefordshire*; and doubt not but that they teſtified the ſame becauſe *Stow*, *Baker*, or ſom other Writer of our Annals and Cronicles tell vs ſo. Methinks we may as prudently and as eaſily believe the burried leg of *Saragoça*

walkt, and that our Ladyes houſe of *Nazareth* was remoued to *Loreto*, as that a burried Rock and Hill trauelld, and playd the husbandman, turning tilled ground into paſture, and paſture into Tillage. Is it not more credible that God would work a miracle to haue the houſe wherin his mother was born, and himſelf made man, be frequented and honored among Chriſtians, and Trees bow to it, than that natural cauſes could, or God would (for no end tending to the inſtruction or good of mankind that wee know of) make a buried Rock and Hill riſe and march with 20. acres of ground ſo orderly and ſtedily, as that not one Tree was bent or faln by ſo violent a motion. Why then do we all belieue the ſtory of *Kinnaſton*, and not thoſe of *Loreto*, or *Zaragoça*? Becauſe they haue ſcuruy ſequels (in fauor of Popery) annext to them, wheras the remoual of the Mountain of *Kinnaſton* is not attended by any conſequences preiudicial to the intereſt of a powerfull party. Wherfore tis but fitting and ſutable to the worlds humor this ſhould be credited, and thoſe don in popish times and Countreys be reiected and laught at, as incroaching vpon the religious reſpect ſo zealouſly

born towards the great *Diana* of the *Ephesians*.

St Germain Patriark of Constantinople. *St Iohn Damasc.* *St Theodore Studitus,* *St Theophanes Abot.* *St Nicephore Patriark of Constantinople.* *Iohn Patriark of Ierusalē.* *300. Bishops in the 2. Councels of Nice* *St Methodius Patriark of Constantinople.*

For my self, I must confess I am but a Compiler of this History. And as for those who are the Authors, I can assure my Readers, they were the most holy and learned men of the Eastern Church, and neuer thought of preiudicing that of England by what they writ so long since againſt the *Iconoclasts*. But if our prelatik Clergy will espouse that quarrell, I hope they will be so charitable as not to asperse their friends *the Iconoclasts*, with want of care and zeal of inquiring into their Aduersaries relations of Miracles, they hauing shewed so much in that age, for confuting the Roman Catholik doctrin. It must be a presumption in any of our age, to pretend now falsood or forgery in miracles, which could not be denyed 800. years ago, by zealous and learned men, and as much concerned to deny and discredit those stories as any now liuing. I am sure it was more easy then to find out the frauds (if any there were) than now it is. For my part, I only relate the matter of fact without medling with any controuersy of Faith, otherwise than briefly mentioning what was sayd on both sides,

and ſo leauing my Reader to iudge which had moſt reaſon, I only aſſure him he will not haue any to repent his peruſal of this admirable and pleaſantly intertaining Hiſtory. I confeſs that in ſom occaſions I take the liberty of amplifying a litle the reaſons and diſcourſes of the Catholiks againſt the *Iconoclaſts*; but beſides that in ſo doing I tranſgreſs not the lawes or truth of Hiſtory, wherwith as it is conſiſtent that the Author makes ſpeeches or *harangues* ſutable to the circumſtances of the perſons and fact, ſo is it not improper, that in doctrinal matters, conſequences which depend of Orthodox principles, be in the name of thoſe who ſufferd for them, deduced and applyed againſt their Aduerſaries.

THE HISTORY OF THE ICONOCLASTS.

LEO ISAVRICVS.

The Original and first Progress of the Iconoclasts *sect. The aduancement of Leo Isauricus to the Empire. The life and death of Iezid the second. The Ecumenical Masters discourse, and the manner of their massacre. Pope Gregory's Kindness to Leo, and his ingratitude. His irretractable obstinacy forcing the Pope to implore the protection of the French. His treacherous calumny to ruin St Iohn Damascen. The saints innocency cleer'd by Miracle. The Emperors bloudy and unsatiable cruelty, and the Martyrdom of diuers. Irene, his daughter in lavv, conuerted to the Catholik persuasion. Leo's misfortunes and death.*

A Mongst the Iewish sectaries none were more precise than the *Samarits:* *Epiphan. l. panar. 9. & 10. cap. 11.*

they would not conuerſe with thoſe who frequented the Temple of *Ieruſalem*; they agreed not with them in their ſacrifices, ceremonies, interpretation or Canon of ſcripture; for they admitted no bookes therof but Moyſes his writings. In whatſoeuer place or poſture the beginning of the Sabath day found them, there, and ſo, they continued untill night. They were much incenſed againſt all kind of Images, and troubled at the *Cherubins* ſtatues which ſtood neer the Ark in the Temple; but much more at the reſpect which Chriſtians tendered to the Images of Chriſt and his Saints, becauſe they would not allow them to be *Images*, but *Idols*, pretending Chriſt was not God, nor that his ſeruants were Saints. About the year of our lord 686. two of theſe Samaritan ſectaries, pretending to be diuinely inſpired, aſſured *Iezid* King of the Saracens, that he ſhould reign moſt proſperouſly the ſpace of forty years, if in all his Dominions he would abolish the Chriſtan worship of holy Images. He hating worship of Images no leſs than thoſe Iewes, condeſcended to their requeſt, with hopes of ſeing their profecy uerified. But before his Edict could be published, he dyed; his ſon and ſuc-

Chron. Orient. Zonar. in Leon. Cedren. El Macir: hiſt. Sarac l. 1. c. 9.

ceſſor *Mouuy* reſoluing to punish the two Impoſtors, they eſcaped his fury, sheltring themſelues in *Iſaury*, a Prouince of the leſſer Aſia.

As they trauelld in this Countrey by by-wayes, and about midday reſted and refresht themſelues at a fountain, a hanſom proper yong fellow, driuing an Aſs loaden with ſome ſmale ware before him, arriued at the ſame place, with the ſame intention. The Iewes obſeruing a manfull reſolution and maieſty in his countenance, askt him ſom particulars concerning his Parents, condition, and Countrey. He told them his Parents and himſelf were poor Chriſtians, liued hard by, his own name was *Conon*, went to the market to ſell his ware, and hoped in time to be a rich merchant. The two Iewes, who made *profecy* their trade, thought they could not looſe much by uenturing one prediction upon a promiſing phyſognomy, in tymes when Grooms and Swinheards had bin raiſed to the Imperial throne: therfore conſulting with one an other, and (as they pretended) with the Lord, he who lookt moſt mortified, counterfeiting the geſtures and lookes of one of the ancient Prophets, ſayd in a graue tone, O *Conon*, change thy

name, and employment; for, if thou wilt promiſe to grant us one requeſt, (after that our profecy ſhall be fulfilld) thou ſhalt be Emperor. *Conon*, though at firſt ſurpriſed to heare ſo unlikely a thing, yet as apt as other men to flatter himſelf with any kind of hopes, and remembring that not uery long before Iuſtin 1. who had bin as poor, and as meanly born as himſelf, by his valor and good fortune came to be Emperor, told the Iewes (and confirmd it by an Oath in St Theodores Church as they deſired) that he would do whatſoeuer they bid him, if euer he attraind to that power and dignity. And ſo changing his name from *Conon* into *Leo*, he followed the war, wherin he behaued himſelf ſo brauely, that he came to be a General, and afterwards Emperor, crownd in Conſtantinople an. 717. by St Germain the Patriark, who aſſured Gregory 2. Bishop of Rome, that Leo was an Orthodox Catholik and a zealous Aſſertor of the firſt ſix general Councells, all which Leo himſelf confirmed by ſending to the Pope a confeſſion of the Roman Faith.

In all this he diſſembled; for, as ſoon as he was proclaimed Emperor, the two

Iewes who had fortold him his fortune, claimd the fauor he had promiſed them thirty years before, and declar'd to him it was no other, than abolishing the Chriſtians worship of Images, which they called *Idolatry*, and brought him to be of that opinion. He renewed his promiſe to the two Samaritan Sectaries, and gaue them great aſſurances of performing the ſame, as ſoon as he was ſetled, and arm'd againſt the reuolutions he doubted not would attend ſo ſtrange an alteration of the publik worship of the whole Church. To encourage him the more to it, they added to their firſt profecy, that he should proſperously reign untill the hundred yeare of his age. The firſt part of his reign was uery ſucceſsfull; he defended Conſtantinople againſt the Saracens, and defeated their Nauy of eighteen hundred Veſſells, as well as their land Army. *Maſalmas* their General attempted the ſecond time to take the Town, and ſeing ouer the principal gate therof that ſtatue of the Mother of God which *Conſtantin* the firſt Chriſtian Emperor had placed there as a monument of his deuotion to the Bleſſed Virgin (to whom alſo he recomended the protection of that his new *Rome*) the

Saracen, offended at that ſight, blaſphemed againſt the Virgin and her worship; but ſudenly all his Nauy (except ten Veſſells) perisht by ſuch a ſtorm, that the people belieued it to be rather a ſupernatural effect of Gods anger, than any which proceeded from the ayer or other natural cauſes. And therfore the Church of Conſtantinople inſtituted a ſolemn tankſgiuin euery yeare for ſo miraculous a deliuerance.

I do not admire that this ſeaſonable ſucceſs, cryed up for a miracle by deuout people, deliuered from imminent danger, should not ſeem one to Leo, nor conuince his obſtinacy, or conuert him from his reſolution of abolishing the worship of Images, but I admire he was not frighted from it by the example of *Iezid* the ſecond, Caliph or King of the Saracens, who a litle before perishd by the ſame attempt wherin Leo perſiſted. This Prince ſucceeded his Coſin *Homar* in the Kingdom, he was a uery gallant man, wiſe and witty, ciuil and mild, and ſo nobly qualified, that though he were not a Soueraign, euery one would ſtriue for his fauor. Yet he had that ordinary fraylty of the greateſt kings; he was giuen too much to his pleaſures,

El Macin. l. 1. c. 16.

pleasures, and yet did not neglect his serious affairs: And though, he had Mistresses, yet he was Master of him self as well as a true Father to his subiects, whom he Kept in awe more by prudence then power: and spent so great a part of his own reuenue in the publick concerns that forc't him to condescend to many indignities in hopes of releeuing his indigency.

One *Sarantapechys* a Magitian, and a Iew, chief of the Synagogue of *Tiberias*, Knowing his necessities, and seing him troubled for fear of wanting money, vndertook to him that he should liue and reign third years more in great plenty and prosperity, prouided he would see put in execution that Decree which one of his Predecessors, (*Iezid* the first) had framed against the Christian worship of Images. This request was granted without difficulty, and the execution of the Decree left to the Iew, and the Arabian Mahometans. And yet the vnfortunat *Iezid* dyed within eighteen months after, and of a disease, (*loue*) not moral to many. This Kings deereest Mistress was called *Ababa*, she happning to dye he could not be remoued from her dead body, vntill the sent therof and his brothere continual supplica-

Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 5. Theoph.

El Macin. cit.

tions preuailed with him, to permit the ſame to be buried. But his paſſion was ſo extrauagant, that he had the Corps taken out of the graue, and brought to his chamber, where he kept it vntill the grief of ſeing that beauty (which once had bin his only content, transformed into a Maſs of corruption) depriued him in a few dayes of that long term of life, and thoſe pleaſures which the Iew had promiſed him. His ſon and ſucceſſor *Vlid*, commanded the Impoſtor to be put to death with exquiſit torments, for hauing abuſed his Father, and deſtroyed his Chriſtian ſubiects, to whom he reſtored their former liberty of conſcience which his Father had ſold to the Iew.

Notwithſtanding this euidence of the Iewish Cheats, and the iudgments of God that fell vpon them who belieued their impoſtures, the Emperor *Leo Iſauricus* attributed all his proſperity to their predictions, and to the reſolution he ſtill retaind of performing his iterated promiſes and Oath of rooting out of the Church the worship of Images. Seing himſelf now ſelted nine years in the Throne, and his ſon *Conſtantin* cround as his Collegue and

Teophil. Acta Steph. Iunior.

ſucceſſor, he began to conſider in what manner his great deſign might be compaſed. He durſt not communicat it to ſaint German the Patriarch, or indeed to any of his own great Miniſters: he truſted none vvith his thoughts but *Conſtantin* Bishop of *Nicolia*, the only man of that caracter vvho (to comply vvith the Saracens and Ievves, and to ſaue his life and goods) fell to burn Images, and deſtroy his ovvn flock, as faſt as thoſe vvho had been ſent formerly into Paleſtine to execute *Iezids* edict. But this edict hauing bin recalled, and the perſecution ceaſed, as hath bin ſayd, the Chriſtians ſo upraided their Bishop, that he vvas forc't to ſeek his fortune in Conſtantinople, vvhither alſo repaired, as his Camerade, one *Bezer* a Renegad, vvho hauing bing a Chriſtian, turnd Mahomean, to obtain his liberty from the Saracens, vvhoſe ſlaue he vvas. Theſe tvvo ſo deſpiſed at Court for their notorious apoſtacy, on a ſudden vvere honourd vvith the Emperors familiar conuerſation, and priuat conſultations; vvherin he deſired their aduice, hovv he might reform the Church, and purge Chriſtianity from that ſuperſtition or Idolatry of Image vvorship. He repreſented to them vvhat deep roos

Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 5.

it had taken in the hearts of all vvho called themſelues Chriſtians, euen of the *Monothelits*, and other heretiks. Hovv it vvas not an error of ſpeculation, but of practiſe, and therfore the people vvould hardly part vvith it as vvith their dayly deuotions, vvhich a general ancient cuſtom had deeply printed in their hearts. That ſo great a nouetly in ſo knovven a point of Religion, might occaſion tumults and rebellions, eſpecialy in Conſtantinople, the Citty vvhere the Piety of Conſtantin the great had erected ſo many deuout ſtatues an euident Argument of the Faith of that Age, and of that Emperours Reuerence to holy Images, and a palpable confutation of that abſurd pretence of our modern Iconoclaſts, that the reuerencing ſuch Images is Idolatry, ſince the Chief Abolisher of Idolatry was ſo zealous a Promoter of this, nay may ſeem to haue ſubſtituted this as particularly oppoſit to Idolatrous worship and the proper Antidote to that poiſon. Leo concluded that for his part he would not be frighted with theſe difficulties, if men of their ſpirit and learning would encourage him to carry on ſo holy a work.

Conſtant. Manaſſ. Niceph. l. 8. c. 26.

How happy theſe two Cheats thought

themselues by this consultation, and the confidence which the Emperor put in them, their former infamy and despicable condition, may sufficiently manifest, seing themselues thus raised from the last of men to be the first, nay the only Fauorits; and knowing that the way to continue so, was, to humor the Emperor, they confirmed him in his opinion of Image worship being *Idolatry*, and in his resolution of suppressing by power any tumults would be raised against his design, which they councelled him to declare openly in a publik Assembly of the Senat. This being don, without hearing any reasons, or admitting of any replyes, he sent immediatly his officers and Gards to throw down from the top of the Imperial Pallace gate, the famous statue of our Sauior which *Constantin* the great had set there, vvhen he build that Pallace, and vvas had in great veneration, not only for vvhat it represented, but for diuers Miracles vvhich God had vvrought, to confirm the Christians in continuing the honor they did to Christ in his statue and similitude. *Teoph. Cedren. Miscell.*

The rumor of vvhat *Leo* had declared in the Senat, and of vvhat his officers had began in pursuance of his Orders, hauing

bin ſpread, the people ran in great fury vvith their armes to the Pallace gate, and killed ſom of the Gards vvho reſiſted. The vvomen in the ſame time pulld down the lader vvherupon *Iouinus* (a principal officer) ſtood hacking the Image of our Sauior; and falling upon him, they cut him in peeces. The Emperor, after this fury vvas ouer, ſet ſoldiers in many places of the Citty, and made priſoners not only thoſe vvho had bin actiue in the late tumult, but the moſt conſiderable perſons of Conſtantinople, bidding them take their choice, either to renounce their Image vvorship, or to ſuffer all the torments imaginable, according to the rigor of his iuſtice. They did chooſe this laſt, and ſom loſt their hands, others their eyes, others had their flesh torn from their bones, and many dyed in the torments, shewing as great conſtancy as he did cruelty.

Teophil. Cedren.

But that which made his name moſt odious, vvas his burning the *œcumenical* Maſter and his twelue Profeſſors of all ſciences, together vvith their celebrated College and Library of aboue three hundred thouſand Volumes. It vvas founded by Conſtantin the great, and in ſuch eſteem

with all the succeding Christian Emperors, that the opinions of those Masters vvere submitted unto as Oracles. And indeed they were alwayes the most eminent persons both for learning and virtue, that could be found in the Roman Empire. Their authority being of so great weight in all parts of the would, *Leo* used as much art and industry to gain them to his side, as a man so vvillfull and so loath to be baffled, could deuise or apply. But they were so far from flattering his errour, or fearing his power, that in his own presence they answered to his proposal and reasons against vvorshiping of Images. Which he sayd vvas forbid in the Decalogue.

The tenour of their discourse vvas, that there is as vast a difference between the Heathen *Idols*, and the Christian *Images*, as there is between Truth and Falsood, somthing and nothing, a real obiect and a fictitious notion. For, acording to saint Paul, an *Idol*, is nothing, becaus the pretended likeness therof tends and leads to nothing, or to a chimera, that is, to the Deity of *Iupiter, Iuno, Mars*, or *Venus*. For, though there haue bin such *persons*, yet there could be no such *Gods*, and therfore, as such, they could not haue any Images, or true 1. Cor. 8. v. 4. & c. 10. 19.

likeneſs, capable of an inward eſteem, or outward vvorship, relating to the *Prototype*. But the Images of Chriſt as man, of the Bleſſed Virgin as his Mother, of the Angels and Saints as his Miniſters and ſervants, are true repreſentations of real obiects, and lead us to vvorship their *Prototyps*, and though inanimat things, yet may be vvorshipt as religiouſly as the holy ground vvherupon Moyſes ſtood, when he approacht the bush that burnt and vvas not conſumed; feſtiual dayes, vvherof God himſelf ſayes; *Dies prima erit ſancta, & ſeptima eadem religione venerabilis.* Exod. 12. 16. The firſt shall be holy, and the ſeuenth day uenerable vvith the ſame Religion. That this vvorship vvas no more prohibited by God, than the making of Images; and yet himſelf commanded them to be made, and placed in the Temple, and by the Ark. That to pretend the contrary, is to change the nature and notions of mankind, there not being any rational man that doth not think himſelf iniur'd by the uilifying of his picture or ſtatue, and honour'd by the reſpect shewen to it. That men as men, are honoured aboue all earthly creatures, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they are Images of God, and made

to his likeneſs. That the ſecond perſon of the Trinity deſerues to be adored as he is the Image of his Father. That God can no more make, or declare the Chriſtan vvorship of Images Idolatry, than he can alter the *eſſence* or nature of things, or the firſt principles of reaſon, nothing being more cleer than, *that to euery perſon there is a reſpect due acording to his perfection*, or quality, and that to ſupernatural perfection or ſanctity a reſpect of the ſame kind is due, and therfore Prophets and Prieſts vvere religiouſly vvorshipt in the old law for their ſupernatural gifts, and caracter, as alſo the Saints in the new, not with *Latria*, or the ſupreme, vvhich is due only to God, but vvith an inferior proportionable to the degree of the caracter, grace or glory vvhich they haue receiued as his ſeruants and Miniſters. That this principle is applicable to the Images of Saints, as Saints and ſeruants of God. That the vvorship exhibited to their Images, as ſuch, can not be called idolatry by any vvho unſterſtand the terms and ſtate of the queſtion. That in confirmation of this, Chriſt our Sauior ſent his Image to *Abagarus* King of Edeſſa. That the ſtatue erected to him by the vvoman he cured of the bloudy flux, vvrought

Euagr. l. 4. c. 26. Damaſc. or l. de Im. Euſeb Hiſt. l. 7. c. 18.

Tertul. l. de Pudic. c. 6: continual Miracles. That the primitiue Chriſtians engraued his Images repreſenting a good Paſtor carrying the ſtrayd sheep upon his shoulders, in the Chalices and *utenſils* of the Church. That all the vvorld knew vvhat miraculous deliurance the Citty of *Edeſſa* had from the Perſian Army, by shewing from the walls the aforeſaid picture of our Sauior, and how therby all their engins were deſtroyd, and their King *Coſroas* diſapointed, and forc't to raiſe the ſiege, How about the ſame time the Emperor *Heraclius* obtained a famous uictory againſt the ſame Perſians, by carrying in his hands before his legions in the battle, the miraculous Images of IESVS Chriſt and his Mother, which had bin lately brought to Conſtantinople from *Camulium*, a Citty of Capadocia. That it is as impoſſible God would permit the Deuil or men to work, or make credible to the Church, ſuch Miracles as theſe, in fauor of falſood, or idolatry, under the notion of Chriſtian truth, and worship, as it is that Truth itſelf could concurr to falſood or that God would countenance a falſe religion; or that the Church should perish by a general apoſtaſy; there not hauing bin any one Chriſtian ſince the

Euagr. cit. Porphyr. Orat.

Teophil. in Heracl. Cedren. ibid. Miſſal. l. 18.

Apoſtles (except the Bishop of *Nacolia*) that was not an idolater, if worship of Images be idolarry: Xenaias the Perſian, vvho vvas the firſt that ſpoke againſt it, hauing neuer been chriſtend. Wherfore the œcumenical Maſter vvith the reſt of his Collegues hnmbly begd of his Maieſty, that he would be pleaſed rather ſo follow the true ſenſe of Scripture and of the Decalogue, confirmd by ſo many Miracles, and the conſtant ſenſe and practiſe of all Chriſtans for the precedent ſeuen ages untill that preſent, than the foolish fancies of ignorant Iewes and Samaritan ſectaries. That for their part they were ſo fixt in this, as in all other points of Catholik Faith, that they would maintain it, during their liues, and vvere ready to ſign it vvith their bloud.

The Emperor was ſo enraged at this ſpeech, and the impreſſion which it made upon the people, that he commanded thoſe learned and holy Doctors should be burnt together vvith their College and Library. This conſtancy of theirs confirmd uery much the Chriſtians in the Image worship, many wherof rebeld, and thoſe of the Archipelago Iſlands endeuored to ſurpriſe Conſtantinople with their Nauy,

which *Leo* deſtroyed by fire works. In Italy they were more ſucceſsfull, The Romans and others, then ſubiects to *Leo*, did not only throw down his ſtatues from the pillars and high places vvherupon they ſtood, but vvould no longer pay him any tribute, or obey his orders. And *Luitprand* King of the Lombards took hold of this occaſion to wreſt from him the Citty of *Rauena*. But *Gregory* the ſecond, Bishop of Rome (to whom ſaint German Patriarch of Conſtantinople had giuen ſom hopes of *Leo's* conuerſion) exhorted the Italians to return to their duty, and wrought ſo effectualy with the *Venetians* in fauor of the Emperor, that by their help he was reſtored to *Rauena*. And yet at the ſame tyme he writ a letter to *Leo*, reprehending his impiety, and admonishing him to deſiſt from thoſe violent courſes wherby he had prouok't Gods indignation, and endangerd the loſs of all that he had in Italy. And becauſe *Leo* pretended that as Emperor he might reform the Church, and *de facto* ſeiſed upon all the plate and ornaments therof, as forfeited to himſelf, becauſe forſooth, they fomented idolatry, by reaſon of the grauen Images of Chriſt and the Saints wherwith they were ador-

ned, Pope *Gregory* tells him in his letter, that *as the chief Bishop hath no right to disposse of the Pallaces or dignities of Kings and Emperors, so they had none to intermedle with the gouernment of the Church.* Ep. 2. ad Leon.

Notwithstanding all Pope Gregories kindness to Leo, Keeping his subiects from rebellion, that Emperor seing he was no lesse resolued to maintain the worship of Images, than himself was to oppose it, he sent Orders to *Marinus* Gouernor of Rome, to promote the design which *Basil* and *Iourdan*, two Imperial officers, and *Jhon*, a subdeacon, had, of murthering the Pope. This plot hauing bin discouered by the Romans, they put to death *Iourdan* and *John*. *Basile* got into a Monastery, and there was permitted to liue miserably. The Emperor thus disapointed, sent *Paul* the Senator to command as Exarke in Italy, with expres Orders to send him the Pope aliue or dead. Paul assembled his dispersed Troops, and marcht towards Rome, hoping to surprise it. But *Luitprand* King of the Lombards (notwithstanding his grudge against the Pope, for hauing persuaded the Venetians to restore *Rauena* to the Emperor, and forc'e it from himself) preferd interest (it was his to ballance Anast. in vit. Greg.

the Emperors power) before reuenge, and like a politik Prince (pretending piety) joynd with the Romans againſt the Exarch; whole Army hauing aduanc't as far as *Spoleto*, thought it his beſt courſe to return to *Rauena*.

Leo ſeing that neither his plots nor power could dethrone *Gregory*, nor deſtroy Image worship, reſolued to try vvhat the bare Imperial authority, vvithout art or arms, could work vpon his Italian ſubiects. He commands his *Exark*, or Lieutenant of Italy, to iſſue forth a Proclamation or Edic't for taking out of all Churches the Images of Chriſt and his Saints, as ſo many Idols, promiſing the Pope great favors if he would ſubmit to this Decree, and declaring him ctiminal, and deueſted of his dignity, in caſe he durſt reſiſt. The Pope convinc't by this way of proceeding, there were no hopes of the Emperors repentance, and return to the Catholik Religion, published an Excõmunication againſt the Exarch, and all thoſe who would execute Imperial commands. He writ alſo exhortatory letters to the King of the Lombards, the Venetians, and all the Princes and Cities of Italy, to ſtand firm to that neuer interrupted general practiſe

of Christianity, worship of holy Images. This produc't not only that defensiue confederacy for Religion, which alone the Pope intended, but an offensiue conspiracy against the Emperors temporal right; in so much that all Italy renounc't his dominion, and resolued to march against him to Constantinople, and choose an other Emperor; from their two last resolutions the Pope dissuaded them, but neuer could preuail with them to own *Leo* for their Lord, unless he would abjure his heresy. And because *Exhilaratus* Gouernor of *Naples* pressed the Emperors Decree in that Kingdom, and would force the people to follow that Princes Religion, and sayd the Popes death was necessary for the quiet of Italy, he and his children were massacred in a tumult. The like fortune had *Paul* the Exarch in *Rauena*, which Citty with all those of the *Marca* of *Ancona*, deliuered themselues up to *Luitprand* King of *Lombardy*, despairing to obtain their pardon or the performance of articles from an exasperated Prince, or to enjoy the freedom of their conscience under a persecuting Soueraign.

Leo surprised with so general a reuolt, (which ordinary prudence, if not blinded

by paſſion, might haue foreſeen, and pre-
uented) ſent the Eunuch *Eutychius* to re-
couer in Italy by policy, what he could not
by power; and gaue him Inſtructions to
offer to *Luitprand* King of Lombardy the
uniting of the Emperors forces with his
in order to reduce the Dukes of *Spolet*
and *Beneuento*, who had rebelld againſt
Luitprand, prouided he would afterwards
joyn his Army with the Emperors, to re-
duce the Romans. Notwithſtanding all
Luitprands piety, his building and adorning
of Churches, his zeal for Religion, and
worship of Images, he liſtened and con-
ſented to the Emperors propoſal, and
march't with his own and *Eutychius* for-
ces to *Spoleto*, were the rebellious Dukes
ſubmitted to his mercy, and were by him
reſtored upon certain conditions, and ſe-
curity of hoſtages. From thence both Ar-
mies procedeed to Rome, and encampt
neer the Caſtle of St *Angelo*, wherat the
Citty was in a great confuſion and con-
ſternation. Pope Gregory loſt not his cou-
rage, and confiding in the Diuine protec-
tion, went in his Pontifical habit ſtreight
to *Luitprands* Camp, and there reprehen-
ded him for appearing in armes againſt
the chief Paſtor of Chriſts Flock, and for
abetting

abetting a barbarous hereſy contrary to the uniuerſaly recieud' Chriſtian beleef, which *Leo Iſauricus* had already deſtroyd in the Eaſt, and by his meanes intended to do the ſame in the Weſt. That it was not the part of a Catholik Prince to enter into ſuch a *League*; That though his own hopes were only in God, yet other Princes were willing and able to defend the ſea Apoſtolik againſt him and the Emperor. That the French were his Neighbors and would be glad to haue ſo plauſible an occaſion to inuade Lombardy, as was his beſieging of Rome with intent to put it into the hands of a Perſecutor of the Chnrch. That if he deſignd only an acknowledgment from the Romans that Leo was their Lord and Emperor, it was no more than he alwayes had deſired, and doubted not to effect. Therfore he admonisht him as his ſpiritual Father, and real friend, to giue ouer his *intrigues* with Gods declared Enemies, otherwiſe that God would be his, and make him an example to poſterity.

The King heard all with great patience, and caſt himſelf at the Popes feet, whom he prayd to acompany him to St Peters Church, and there, in preſence of all his chief Comanders, offerd his ſword, Arms,

Royal robe, his Croun, and a great ſiluer Croſſe, at the Apoſtles shrine, as a pledge of his obedience to the Apoſtolik ſea, aſſuring the Pope he would neuer combine to perſecute the ancient deuout practiſe of Chriſtendom, nor diſturb it with any new Doctrin. From thence he went to *Eutychius* the Exarch, and told him how willing and able the Pope was to haue the Emperors right ownd in Rome, and that he ought therwith to be ſatisfied. *Eutychius* ſeemed to be well pleaſed with what was offerd, not knowing how to obtain more, and entred peacebly into the Citty, vvhere he vvas receiued and reſpected as the Emperors Liutenant, much rejoying to ſee the Pope vvas ſo ſincere and ſucceſsfull in his undertaking for the loyalty of the Romans, that he perſuaded them to go under *Eutychius* his command againſt one *Tiberius* proclaimed Emperor by the people of Tuſcany; vvho vvas made priſoner in this expedition, and his head ſent to Conſtantinople.

A man would think this honeſt dealing of the Pope, and the Romans return to their duty, ſhould haue induced the Emperor to moderation, in hopes that therby he might preſerue vvhat he had yet

left in Italy. But he crediting more the Iewes prediction of liuing and prospering untill he were one hundred years old, if he persecuted the Christians for worshiping God in Images, than any other arguments for the lawfulness of that worship, he raised a new persecution, and now declared that if the old Patriark St German (vvith vvhom he had hitherto forborn) did not renounce, and preach against Image vvorship, he should be no more Patriark; and because that holy learned man had confuted in a publik disputation the renegat Bishop of *Nacolia*, and confirmed his own flock in the Catholik Faith by his Sermons and books, and told the Emperor he vvas not to iudge or decide matters of Religion, he afronted and struck him in the Pallace, and named one *Anastasius* a Priest (vvhom he gaind to his opinion) for his successor in the sea of Constantinople, after he had deposed Saint German vvithout any legal process or authority. The holy Prelat retired to his Countrey house, from whence by the Emperors Orders he vvas carried to a Monastery, and after som time strangled, at the age of almost a hundred years. The Church celebrats his Martyrdom upon

Ioan Damasc Or. 2. de Imag Act. 5 Steph. in.

Martyrol. Rom.

the ſecond of May.

Anaſtaſius the pretended Patriarch went (before St Germans death) in great pomp to take poſſeſſion of his ſea, it being knowen alſo that he had turnd *Iconoclaſt*, the vvomen, ſeeing the men durſt not oppoſe his intruſion, ran in ſuch haſt and fury upon that wolf (ſo they termd him) and ſo pelted him with ſtones, that he vvas carried arwy from the Church half dead to the Emperors Court, who at that ſight vvas ſo enraged, that he commanded the women to be maſſacred by his Gards; which Order vvas obeyd out of hand: as alſo that other of burning all the Images in one heap, which vvere found in the Churches and houſes of Conſtantinople. Notwithſtanding all this, *Anaſtaſius* the new pretended Patriark had the confidence to ſend a ſynodical letter to the Pope (acording to the ancient Catholik cuſtom) giuing him an account of the election, and deſiring his communion. The Pope, returnd him a *Monitorium*, vvherby he declared him ſuſpended from all prieſtly functions, for preſuming to inuade the Throne of a lawfull Patriark, pretending himſelf to be one, againſt all forms and rules of the Church; and threatned to excommunicat

Anaſt. in Greg.

him, if out of hand he did not recall the hereſy he had embrac't. To the Emperor alſo the Pope writ, and ſent Legats, begging of him as his faithfull ſeruant, and commanding him as his ſpiritual Father and Paſtor, that he vvould reflect vpon thoſe deſtructiue and damnable courſes he had taken upon ſo ridiculous grounds as the fancy of two ignorant Iewes, againſt the doctrin and practiſe of all the Chriſtian Church ſince the Apoſtles. The Emperor inſtead of anſwering, impriſond and banished the Legats, and ſo rather encreaſed then diminished the perſecution.

The Pope finding by long experience of 14. years patience *Leo* vvas both vnexorable and incorrigible, called as great a Councell of Bishops as the diſtractions of the times vvould permit; and declared to the aſſembled Fathers, vvhat pains he had taken to reduce that loſt sheep (the Emperor) to Chriſts fold: how in ſtead of returning dutifuly to God, he rebelld againſt him by inuenting and intruding upon the Church a moſt ſtupid Hereſy, reuiued out of the Dregs of the Samaritan ſect; That for his own part as he vvas chief Paſtor of all Chriſtians, he found himſelf obliged in conſcience to defend his flock from ſo

deuouring a Lion, firſt by publik and priuat prayers, vvhich he had don, and now by eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. That as it vvas his *Faith*, all *povver is from God*, ſo vvas it his *opinion*, vvhen that power is not ordered and applyed as God vvould haue it, to edification, it may be hindred from deſtroying of ſouls; and therfore ſubiects may hinder with defenſiue arms the putting in execuſion damnable lawes, as well as refuſe vvith offenſiue tongues to profeſs the doctrin vvhich thoſe lawes promote and eſtablish. That it is againſt reaſon to belieue, God vvould haue a multitude of men, or all mankind be damnd rather than reſiſt vvith arms falſe doctrin fauored by one or a few Soueraigns, ſeing Chriſt dyed rather to ſaue ſouls, than to humor Soueraigns. That as Parents are bound to breed their children in the true Religion, ſo are they to hinder their being bred in hereſy. That men are not obliged to expect Miracles in defending Chriſtianity againſt tyranical perſecution, nay are bound not to expect them vvhen they can defend it by natural means. That the rule vvherby they ought to iudge of the time and lawfulneſs of their reſiſtance muſt not be their own fancies, but a real

Obſerue it vvas but the Popes opinion, not his definition, that Religion ought to be defended by Arms againſt the Soueraigns lavves.

Theophil. Cedren. Miſcel. p. 21.

danger of altering the Catholik Faith, and the Soueraigns actual endeuors to do it. That this vvas the caſe of *Leo* the Emperor, as vvas manifeſt by too ſad experience. Therfore he iudged it high time to declare him not only an *heretik*, but an *Hereſiark*, as being the firſt Chriſtian perſecutor of Image vvorship; and ſo vvith the appro- bation of the Councell forbid the Catho- liks of Italy to pay him any obedience or tribute. Then he ſent *Legats* to *Charles Martel* of France, imploring his protec- tion againſt Leo. The Treaty vvas ſoon concluded, vvhich vvas the firſt ſtep made towards the Tranſlation of the Roman Empire to the vveſt, and the family of *Charles the great.*

Zonar. Appendix ad Greg. Tur.

The Bishops of the Eaſt thought it their duty to follow the example of the Pope in condemning the Emperors error as here- ſy, and in excommunicating himſelf as an *Hereſiarch.* And becauſe *Leo* was infor- med that St *John Damaſcen* was uery actiue in this affair, and had writ many letters to confirm the Chriſtians in their ancient practiſe of worshiping God in Images, he reſolued to be reuenged of a man vvho had not only oppoſed his deſign, but had him cenſured in a Councell of Bishops,

Hauing found one of St *Iohn Damaſcens* letters written by his own hand, he found alſo a man vvho counterfeited the ſame ſo well, that none could diſcern the Original from the falſe one. And Knowing that *Hiſiam* Caliph of the Saraſins vvas of a jealous diſpoſition, and that the cleereſt innocency is not protection againſt that paſſion, he ſends the counterfeit letter, (entended to be writ to himſelf by St Iohn Damaſcen) to Hiſiam, which is recorded in theſe words.

Ioan Hieroſol. in Ioan. Damaſ.

Sir, Being a Chriſtian, I think my ſelf obliged to render to the Chriſtian Emperor that ſeruice which God and my conſcience exact from me, againſt the Enemies of the Religion I profeſs. I therfore aduertiſe you, that this Citty of *Damaſcus* is ill garded, and the Gariſon of the Saracens ſo weake, that it is not in a condition to reſiſt the firſt aſſaults. I coniure you in Gods name, not to looſe ſo fair an oportunity of deliuering from the Tyrany of Barbarians ſo flourishing a Town. You need no other Troops than thoſe you haue againſt our Frontiers; my ſelf hauing the command of the place, I promiſe you in the faith of a Chriſtian to order matters ſo, that your troops upon their

firſt approach, ſhall be maſters therof, without any reſiſtence. I expect your commands for the execution of this enterpriſe ſo glorious for you, and which can not fail, if you will be pleaſed to take my aduice.

Within the enſuing letter of his own the Emperor ſent the aforſaid lines as from Iohn Damaſcen.

To the Caliph of the Saracens.

THe difference of our Religions can not juſtify the breach of that mutual Faith we haue giuen in our articles of peace. To shew you that I will obſerue them inuiolably on my ſide, I ſend you herin incloſed the letter of a wicked man, (though of my profeſſion) vvhom you truſt. You will hereby iudge of his treachery, and of my ſincerity; vvhich may perſuade you it vvill be your own fault if I do not alwayes continue your friend and Ally. The Caliph of Siria hauing peruſed theſe letters, vvas amas'd to ſee under *Iohn Damaſcens* hand ſo much ingratitude and trechery, he being truſted not only vvith the gouernment of *Damaſcus*, but vvith all the ſecrets of the Cabinet, as

his Father alſo had bin. Yet the Saracen reflecting upon *Iohns* honors, and riches, and the liberty of conſcience he and all other Chriſtians enjoyd under the gouernment chekt his own rash iudgment, and conſulted his Councellors before he would giue full credit to ſo unlikely a crime. Moſt of the Councellors enuying *Damaſcens* greatneſs in Court, raiſed the Kings ſuſpicions to a greater height than his own jealouſyes had don; and took from hence occaſion and the liberty to tell him, the vvorld admired how far ſo ſound a iudgment as his, declind from the rules of policy, in communicating the ſecrets of ſtate to a man of a diferent Religion from that of the ſtate. That the Chriſtians belieued they merited Heauen by endeuoring to extirpat the Saracens profeſſion, and the power wherby it is maintaind. That in all politik gouernments care is taken no ciuil or military employment be conferd vpon ſuch as conform not to the Prince his way of worshiping God. Therfore their opinion vvas, that though no ſuch letter had appeared as this of Damaſcens, he ought to be depriued both of his ciuil and military charges; but ſeing euery one of them had reaſon to belieue the letter

was writ with his own hand, he ought to looſe it.

Others more moderat ſayd, it were to be vvished all Councellors and Commanders vvere as ſincere and zealous for the Mahometan *Alcoran* as his maieſtyes example ought to make them, but it was the misfortune of moſt ſtates men and ſoldiors, to be (or at leaſt thought to be) of no Religion at all. That they minded more their profit and pleaſures, than promoting the great Prophets doctrin of the Diuine law. That an honeſt Chriſtian vvas fitter to be of the *Cabinet* Councell than a vvicked Saracen, and the rather, becauſe in ſtate conſultations *Religion* is ſeldom conſidered. That men vvho haue conſcience will ſooner ſell or betray that Religion vvhich they pretend to be of, than honeſt men vvill their truſt, though they profeſs a contrary Faith. That mens conſtancy in adhering to a perſecuted, or diſcountenanc't Religion, is a proof of honeſty, and makes them more capable of preferment, than does an indifferency for or a conformity to any Religion the Prince or law vvill eſtablish. That no honeſt Chriſtian vvill accept of a truſt vvith an intention to betray it, though therby he might promote

Chriſtianity. That Iohn *Damaſcen* was as vvell knowen to be honeſt, as to be a Chriſtian. That it is not an effect of piety but an error in policy, to exclude conſcientious men, of vvhat Religion ſoeuer, from places of truſt, *conſcience* being the moſt neceſſary thing to diſcharge it faithfully. That to exclude Chriſtians vvho were ſubiects and Syrians, from bearing offices in Syria, was to make them ſtrangers in their own Country, and ſlaues to their fellow ſubiects; a thing no leſs contrary to common ſenſe, than dangerous to the gouernment, which can not be otherwiſe peaceable than by an unpartial diſtribution of fauors as well as of iuſtice; and by contenting the maior part of the people, vvho commonly are the Natiues. Theſe being their principles, they humbly conceiued that *Iohn Damaſcen* ought to be not only declared innocent, but continued in his employments, and other meriting Chriſtians promoted to the like; ſeing no credit ought to be giuen to letters vvhich might be ſo eaſily counterfeited, againſt a man whoſe intereſt it was, as vvell as his inclination, to be honeſt. At leaſt it was euident it could not be the intereſt of the Prince, that his ſubiects conſcience or

Country should be declared an incapacity of seruing him, and an infamy to themselues.

The Caliph *Hisiams* inclinations and thoughts vvere as much diuided as his Councellors votes, but their couetousnes of possessing *Iohn Damascens* riches, joyning vvith that Caliphs jealousy, preuaild against all other considerations; and so he immediatly commanded *Damascens* right hand to be cut off, and fixt upon a gibet in the market place, notwithstanding the Saints plea of innocency, and his proofs of the Emperors knowen hatred against him, for writing in fauor of the worship of Images, and pressing the eastern Bishops Censures against him. After that this uniust sentence was put in execution, *Damascen* being retired in his house, begd of the Caliph, that his hand might not continue so infamously exposed in publik, but that he would be pleased to command it might be deliuered to himself. This request being granted, the saint retired with his hand to his *Oratory*, and prostrated before the picture of the Mother of God, prayd to her with great deuotion, she would intercede for him to the Sauior of the world, her son, that that hand

which he had loſt for maintaining hers and the ſaints worship (as Gods Mother and ſeruants) in their Images, might be reſtored to him, promiſing he would continue to glorify God by defending that doctrin and practiſe of his Church againſt the hereſy of the *Iconoclaſts*. After praying in this manner good part of the night, he fell a ſleep; and thought, the Mother of God appeared to him and ſpoke theſe words. *Thy petition is granted, thou maiſt diſpoſe of thy hand as thou thinkſt fit; but remember to employ it, acording to thy promiſe, in confuting by thy vvritings the impiety of thoſe vvho iniure us by their unvvorthy demenor tovvards our Images*: and ſtarting out of his ſleep, he found by experience that if his thought was a dream, it was no deluſion, but a demonſtration of Gods Omnipotency, and as cleer a proof of his being pleaſed with the interceſſion of ſaints, and vvorship of their Images, as the greateſt Miracle can produce. He felt his hand, and ſaw it as perfectly united to his arm, as euer it had bin, a read circle in the place vvhere it had bin cut off by the Executioner, remained as a monument of the mercy.

Ioan. Hieroſol. in vit. Ioan Damaſc

His ſeruants hearing their Maſter ſing

Hymns of praise and thanks to God, and seing how much reason he had to do so, published this Miraculous cure, wherof all the Citty came to be spectators; The Caliph himself and his Councellors were confounded to see their rash sentence condemned by that Diuine Tribunal, wherunto Damascen had appeald; and that condemnation together vvith the Saints innocency recorded in so legible and Lasting a caracter, that untill the end of the vvorld the belief and memory of so remarkable a Miracle was like to continue. To recompense the injury vvhich had bin occasioned by the Caliphs jealous and couetous humor, he restored all his forfeited goods to *Damascen*, and pressed him to accept of his former employments. But the saint returning humble thankes, for restoring to him his goods and lands, diuiding his rich patrimony between the Church, the poor, and his relations, went to *Ierusalem*, vvhere by the Patriark he was ordained Priest; and from thence retired into the famous Monastery of saint Sabas in Palestine, vvherin liuing a Monastical life, he writ those three learned Treatises we haue, against the *Iconoclasts* for the doctrin and practise of the Catholik

Church in vvorshiping Gods Saints (with an inferior religious worship) in their Images, acording to his engagement. In this retirement he ſpent his dayes with more content than that voluptuous Caliph whom he had formerly ſerued, who was no leſs expenſiue than couetous; To carry onely his cloathes and linnen in his journeys, he had ſix hundred Camels. And though there were found in his warderob after his death twelue thouſand pair of sheets and shifts, yet not one of ſo uaſt a number could be had to couer his body in the graue; *Vlid* his ſucceſſor hauing giuen Orders that all his goods should be shut up and ſeald with his royal ſignet. So that he vvho had no leſs than 700. Garderobs, during his life, full of ſuperfluous garments, was forc't, after his death, to be beholding to one of his pooreſt and meaneſt ſeruants for an old rotten couerlet, wherin he was buried. An example as well of the vanity and ingratitude of men, as of the inconſtancy of fortune; wherby Princes may learn, how ſoon they are forgot by their ſeruants and ſucceſſors: and that nothing but their works will acompany them to the other world.

El Macin Hiſtor. Saracen. l. 1, c. 17. 18. Roder. Tolet. Hiſtor. Arab. c. 12. Chron. Orient.

If God

If God would ſpeak to the Emperor *Leo*, as he did to *Achas*, and bid him pick out and chooſe a Miracle, thet by to reſolue his doubt of the lawfulneſs of worshiping Images, I do not think he or any other man could fix upon a greater, or a more undeniable, than this of St Iohn Damaſcen, whether we conſider the cure, or the cauſe and circumſtances of it. Notwithſtanding that *Leo* could no more doubt of the fact, than of what was viſible to ſo great a Citty and Court as *Damaſcus*, and teſtified to himſelf by a thouſand credible witneſſes, yet (acording to the cuſtom and deſperat shift of Iewes and heretiks) he attributed the working of the Miracle to Magik art; as if forſooth, God would permit the Deuil impoſe idolatry upon the Catholik Church, by a trick ſo like truth that neither *Damaſcen's* Emulators in Court, nor the Iconoclaſts, Enemies of the Church, could euer find out the leaſt ſign of ſuſpition of a cheat, in a matter that was then the only controuerſy of Religion, and the cleering therof ſo neceſſary for the ſatisfaction and ſaluation of ſouls. The Emperor therfore perſiſting in his obſtinacy, and next to heare how *Damaſcen* had eſcaped his ſnare, and how baſely him- *Iſai. c. 7.*

ſelf was ſpoken of for it, he continued his cruel perſecution, by tormenting, impriſoning and banishing the Catholiks, and their Bishops. *Emilien* Bishop of *Cizique*, *Endemon* of Lampſak, *Baſil* of Parium, *Nicholas* of Apolonias, *Michael* Metropolitan of Synnade, *Theophilact* of Nicomedia, dyed by his ill treating them for worshiping the ſaints Images, and their memory is celebrated by the Church as holy Martyrs. And though many fell from the Faith for feare of his tyrany, yet many had courage to upraid him with it; One was ſaint *Theophilacte*, who to his face told him he was Antichriſts Precurſor, and an other *Iudas*. St *John* Bishop of Polybote (called *Thaumaturgus*, for the multitude of his great Miracles) treated him with the ſame termes. And yet *Leo* durſt not punish him as he did others.

Not content to tyranize in the Eaſt, he threatned to do the ſame in the Weſt, and particularly in Italy, though his power could hardly reach thither. Pope *Gregory* 2. being dead an other *Gregory* ſucceeded in the chair of St Peter, a man much commended for his virtue and learning; and though a *Sirian* by birth, yet ſo well beloued by the Romans, that by common conſent

of the Clergy and people he was choſen Pope fiue dayes after his Predeceſſors death. His firſt thought was to ſend a Legat to *Leo*, deſiring him to ceaſe from perſecuting Chriſtianity in the Eaſt. The Legat (whoſe name alſo was *Gregory* hearing how fierce a man Leo was, returned to Rome without deliuering his letters or meſſage; wherat the Pope being much offended, and reſoluing to punish him ſeuerely, the Legat begd pardon, and for his penance was content to return to Conſtantinople with his letters and Meſſage. The Emperor hearing of it, commanded him to be impriſoned in Sicily. The Pope concluding by this, nothing could be expected from Leo by moderat wayes, followed that rigor which Gregory 2. (his Predeceſſor) had bin forc't at length to take. He therfore called a Councell of Bishops at Rome, and to 93. there aſſembled in St Peters Church, in preſence of all the Roman Clergy and Senat, propoſed how neceſſary it vvas to uſe the meanes vvhich God had left to his Church for its preſeruation, againſt the obſtinacy and inſolency of Heretiks. Therfore vvith thoſe Prelats concurrence he declared the vvorship of Images to be a Lawfull and

pious practiſe of Chriſtianity; and by a new *Anathema*, cut of the *Iconoclaſts*, as rotten members, from the body of Chriſts Church. Yet at the ſame time he ſent *Conſtantin* and *Peter*, two chief ones of the Roman, to perſuade the Emperor to return to God; and preuaild vvith the Senat to ſend Ambaſſadors to him and his ſon *Conſtantin*, offering their allegance to both, upon condition they would reſtore the Catholik Religion. But *Leo* vvould not liſten to any propoſals; thinking that an Army and Nauy which he ſent under the command of one *Manes*, and had bin prepared vvith much adoo, joyning vvith thoſe who obeyd him in *Sicily* and *Calabria*, might get footing again in the reſt of *Italy*. This Army and Nauy hauing perisht in the Adriatik ſea, he turned his fury againſt the Chriſtians of the Eaſt. And becauſe *Hippaſius* Bishop of Epheſus, and *Andrevv* one of his Prieſts, were famous in thoſe parts for their learning and maintaining the worship of Images, he ſent for them to Conſtantinople, and offerd them great rewards if they would contradict vvhat untill then they had preacht and practiſed: Which they reiecting vvith indignation, he commanded their heads to be shaued,

and litle wodden Images to be faſtned therunto with pitch, and ſetting fire to them and their pitcht beards alſo, they marcht ſo through the Citty, and at length had their throats cut, and their bodyes caſt to the dogs. The ſame uſage had St *Gregory Limniote* that admirable Monk who had liued aboue fourſcore years a miraculous life vpon the Mount *Olympus*, and left his cell to try whether he might conuert the Emperor; whoſe ſoul was more tormented than the ſaints bodyes to ſee them glory in their ſufferings.

But that which moſt enrag'd this fierce Lion was, to ſee Image worship triumph ouer his paſſion euen in his own Palace, when he queſtioned not to root it out of the whole Roman Empire. *Leo* contracted an alliance with the King of the *Auars*, or *Scythians*, whoſe power was great in thoſe times: to continue and ſecure his friendship, a mariage was concluded between *Conſtantin* the Emperors ſon, and *Irene* the Kings daughter, upon condition she should turn Chriſtian after being inſtructed in the myſteries of that Religion, which was don by the falſe Patriarch Anaſtaſius. *Irene* hauing an excellent wit and iudgment, and obſeruing the conſtraint that

Theophil. Cedren. Miſcell. lib. 22.

ſeemd to be upon many Iconoclaſts conſcience (who were of that profeſſion rather to pleaſe the Emperor than God) and the conſtancy of the Catholiks in their Image worship, examind the cauſe, and ſtudied that controuerſy ſo well that she confounded her Maſter, obiecting againſt him the nouelty of his ſect, the ſcope and ſenſe of Gods words in the 20. Chapter of Exodus, which is only againſt the worship of Idols or of Images as Gods, and this she proued by the uery letter of the greek text (which was the only uſed in Conſtantinople) ſetting down *Idol* for *ſculptile*, or *grauen thing* She added, that it is not credible, or poſſible, the whole Chriſtian Church, untill Leo Iſauricus his reign) could be ſo ignorant, or ſo wicked, as to confound Idolatry with Gods worship; that his prouidence could not permit it; neither was ſo groſs and general an apoſtaſy conſiſtent with his promiſe of leading the Church into all truth, and remaining with it untill the end of the world. That in Religious worship there might be degrees of *ſupreme* and *inferior*, as well as in ciuil. That as men are worshipt and iniuri'd in their Images and ſtatues, ſo may Chriſt and his Saints. That the Scripture forbids

the making of all Images and likneſs of Creatures with the ſame termes and ſeuerity that it doth their worship; and yet none is ſo ſtupid as to belieue that it forbids the making of them as *Images*, but only as *Idols*, to be worshipt for Gods. Therfore she told *Anaſtaſius* and the Emperor, she would worship Chriſt, his Mother, and his Saints, in their Images, according to the ancient ſenſe and practiſe of all Chriſtians, and of the Catholik Church.

This reſolution ſtruck *Leo* dead, he durſt no remoue her from it by violent means, for fear of her Father, vvhoſe confederacy, or at leaſt good correſpondency, vvas neceſſary for the preſeruation of the Empire, *Hiſiam* the Caliph hauing ſent his two ſons *Mauias* and *Soliman* againſt it, vvith great Armies, after that he had diſcouered his trecherons diſpoſition in the intrigue of Saint Iohn Damaſcen. This uexation together vvith that of a general Earth quake, famin, and plague in his Dominions, shortned his dayes, and brought him to that dyſintery wherof he dyed the 18. of Iune 741. after that he had reignd 25. years of the forty vvhich the

two Iewes had profecied and promiſed he should, in caſe he would perſecute the Chriſtians, as he did, for their worship of Images. His ſon and ſucceſſor *Conſtantin* had all his bad qualities, but not one of his good, as vve shall shew in his reign.

CONSTANTIN COPRONIMVS.

Copronimus his beginnings and hereſies. The reuolt and defeat of Artabaſdes. *Pope Zacharias ſends Legats to Copronimus, but is deluded by him. A Councel of Iconoclaſt Bishops held at Conſtantinople, and their Decrees. The Patriarks debaucht life and miſerable end. The Martyrdom of St Andrevv Calabite and Stephen. Miracles vvourght for the Catholik doctrin of Images. A Synod at Ieruſalem condemning that of the Iconoclaſts at Conſtantinople. Copronimus his Embaſſy to King Pepin. A Councell at Iantilly neer Paris, and an other at Rome againſt the Iconoclaſts. The misfortune and end of Copronimus.*

IN the year of our Lord 741. this Emperor began to reign alone, being but 22. years of age. The Authors who writ his life ſay he was the Monſter of mankind, infamous for his beaſtly actions, therfore to the ſirname of *Copronimus* (giuen him for

Theophil. Cedren. Zonar. Miſcel. in Conſtant.

beraying the *Font* when he was baptiſed) was added that of *Caballinus*. No ſooner did he aſcend the Imperial Throne but he ordered by an Edict, all the Images of Chriſt and Saints to be not only thrown down from the places where ſom of them had yet remaind, but trod and ſpit upon, eſpecialy thoſe of the Bleſſed Virgin, to whom he bore a particular ſpite, and would not haue her called the Mother of God; for, he was a *Neſtorian* in his iudgment, though he durſt not own it publikly. He was alſo a Magitian, inuok't the Deuils, and offered victimes to them, with the bloud vvherof he vvas acuſtomed to rub himſelf. He commanded the reliques of Saints should not be honoured; yet hee had a great ueneration for the ſign of the holy Croſs, becauſe Chriſt dyed upon one, and in regard it toucht his ſacred body. And yet was ſo peruerſe and ſtupid as to ſay that the Virgin *Mary* vvas like a purſe vvhich ought not be ualued longer than the money is in it: and that after Chriſt was born, she deſerued no more reſpect than other women.

His infamous life, tyrany, and new hereſies made him ſo odious to his ſubiects, that ſom of them deſignd to rebell, and

choose for their Emperor one *Artabasdes* a Catholik married to his sister, as likewise Gouernor of *Phrygia* and *Bithinia*; The Emperor discouered the design before *Artabasdes* knew of it; to preuent which, he march't with an Army to *Crasus* in Phrygia, under a pretext of curbing the Saracens. From that Town he writ to his brother in law, desiring him to bring along with him his children, to the end he might comfort himself with his and their sight, and receiue his aduice concerning the war. But *Artabasdes* hauing bin aduertised he had resolued to destroy him and his children, marched towards the Emperor in battle array, and hauing met in the way *Bezer*, who was sent with troops to surprise him, killed him, and defeated that party; and afterwards fell upon *Copronimus* his Army so fiercely and unexpectedly, that it was totaly routed, Copronimus escaping with much adoo to *Longinus* one of his Generals, and Gouernor of the Eastern parts of the Empire. *Teophil. Miscel. l. 22.*

Artabasdes Knowing the worst plea for obtaining pardon from a Soueraign is to be so well beloued by his subiects as to haue bin made his Competitor without seeking it, and that merit is a crime when

it makes a man popular, reſolued to preſerue himſelf by accepting of the Empire, which diſcontented ſubiects had preſſed upon him. In compliance therfore with their deſire, and for his own preſeruation he ſent *Thalaſius* to diſpoſe *Theophanes*, the Gouernor of Conſtantinople, to his deuotion; which was ſoon effected, and *Artabaſdes*, with uniuerſal joy proclaimd Emperor, the Gouernor hauing aſſured the Senat and people, that the Army had giuen him the ſame title, after that *Conſtantin* was Killed in the battle. But that which occaſioned much laughter, was the ſudain conuerſion of *Anaſtaſius* the pretended Patriark who conſidering that *Artabaſdes* was a Catholik, and that the people had ſet up again the holy Images, none vvas ſo forvvard in vvorshiping them, and curſing the memory of *Copronimus* as that hypocrit, who had turnd Iconoclaſt, and betrayd his Maſter St *German*, to becom Patriark kimſelf. And now in hopes of being confirmd in that dignity, ouer-acted his part; and from the pulpit, told the people, he found himſelf obliged in conſcience to diſcouer to them, how that infamous and impious *Copronimus* had before his departure from Conſtan-

Teophil. Cedren. Zonar. Miſcel. l. 22.

tinople, ſpoke theſe vvords to him. *Do not believe Patriark, that the ſon of Mary, vvho is called Chriſt, is the ſon of God; he is but a man like the reſt; and his Mother called Mary conceiued him iuſt as my mother (called Mary alſo) conceiued me.* This exaſperated the people ſo much againſt *Copronimus*, that they cryed aloud though he had bin liuing, they would neuer obey him as their Emperor.

Within few dayes it vvas aſſured that *Copronimus* vvas not only liuing, but marching vvith great forces towards *Conſtantinople*. Artabaſdes paſſed his Army ouer into *Aſia* together vvith his ſon *Nicetas* to encounter him. He ſent his ſon into *Bithinia* vvith an other body of men to diuert and diuide the Emperors Army: they had good ſucceſs at firſt: but *Copronimus* aſſiſted by two of his Generals, ſurpriſed *Artabaſdes*, and routed his Army neer *Sardis*, notwithſtanding a braue reſiſtance: himſelf eſcaped, and retired to Conſtantinople. His ſon *Nicetas* after many Skirmiſhes, came to a general engagement, wherin the victory vvas doubtfull untill his Coſin *Tiridates*, vvho commanded the *Armenians*, vvas Killd, and *Longinus* and *Siſinnius* bent all their forces againſt *Nice-*

tas; who after the loſs of the battle, retreated to his gariſons, and prepar'd for an other fight. *Copronimus* following his good fortune, put under his obedience all the reuolted Prouinces of *Aſia*, and marcht ſtreight to Conſtantinople, vvhich he beſieged an. 744. and took the ſuccor which Artabaſdes ſent by ſea for its relief: wherupon Artabaſdes himſelf entred into the Town, and diſcharged it of ſuch as vvere not fit, and reſolued to fight.

Nicetas haſtning with an Army to ſuccor his beſieged Father, was defeated at *Nicomedia*, and made priſoner by *Copronimus*, who had paſſed with his beſt Forces into Aſia, leauing others to continue the ſiege of Conſtantinople: Whither being returnd, he shewed *Nicetas* to his Father, who not yeelding, but growing deſperat at ſo ſad a ſpectacle, the Citty was taken by aſſault the ſecond of Nouember, after two months ſiege. And though *Artabaſdes* made his eſcape together vvith his eldeſt ſon *Nicephorus*, whom Patriark *Anaſtaſius* had crownd as vvell as his Father, yet both vvere taken not long after, and Artabaſdes and his two ſons eyes puld out, the Citty left to the ſoldiors diſcretion, moſt of the people maſſacred or maimed

without mercy; Artabasdes, Nicephorus, and Nicetas led in chains through the publik places, and *Anastasius* the false Patriark after hauing bin sadly cudgelld, mounted upon an Ass with his face backwards, was carried in triumph, for his inconstancy and treachery to *Copronimus*. And yet this same Emperor finding none so fit for his purpose as so ungratefull and infamous an hypocrit, restored him to the patriarchal dignity, upon his renouncing again the Catholik Faith, and upon his promising to be of any religion his Majesty would prescribe.

To Gregory 3. Bishop of Rome succeded *Zacharias*, a zealous Catholik, and yet a politik and moderat Pope; for that notwithstanding his Predecessors Censures against the Iconoclasts, he hindred *Luitprand* the Lombard (whose power he feard) from retaking *Rauena* and the Countrey belonging to it; in hopes the Emperor would cease from persecuting the Church. To induce him therunto, he sent Legats to his Miesty as soon as he heard of his Fathers death; but *Artabasdes* hauing possessed himself of Constantinople, as vve haue seen, the Legats remaind there untill the restitution of *Copronimus*, who after

he had recouerd his own, treated them ciuily, and ſuſpended the perſecution, hoping therby the would Pope continue his good offices for his intereſt in Italy; and beſides, the Caliph of the Saracens dying, and great diuiſions arriſing about his ſucceſſor, *Copronimus* thought it more for his aduantage to lay hold of that occaſion, and regain ſom part of Syria, than perſecute his own ſubiects. He ſent therfore the Legats backloaden with good words and fair promiſes, though he neuer intended to perform any. For, returning vvith ſucceſs from Syria, he fell to his old vvayes, and laught at the Pope for belieuing him. And though God punished and almoſt unpeopled a great part of his Empire vvith a new Kind of diſeaſe, vvherof men vvere forwarned, (as vvell as of their death, for none that ſickned, eſcaped) by litle Croſſes, which inuiſibly were faſtned to their cloathes; yet becauſe this iudgment reacht not his perſon, it made no impreſſion upon his hardned heart, but rather abuſing Gods mercy, boaſted that this indemnity, as well as his conqueſt of Armenia, and the birth of his ſon, were rewards of his zeal againſt the worship of Images; notwithſtanding that the fierceſt Iconoclaſts, (and

Teop' il. Cedren. Miſcel. Zonar. Theodor. ſtud or de S Plat.

(and among them his Patriarch *Anaſtaſius*) dyed of that ſtrange diſeaſe.

But becauſe hitherto the *Iconoclaſts* religion had not bin fauored by any Church authority, and was ſo contrary to the doctrin and practiſe of Chriſtian antiquity, *Copronimus* was aduiſed by ſom ambitious Bishops, to gain as many of their caracter and condition as he could; not doubting but that vvith giuing hopes of fauor and preferment, he might get a ſufficient number to beare the name of a generat Councel, which himſelf might ſummon from that part of the Empire, next to Conſtantinople, without conſulting the Pope, or the other Patriarks. The aduice and proiect took ſo vvell, that by promiſes and threats, he got together in his Palace 338. Bishops, ready to obey his commands. But there being no Preſident or Head in this their pretended Councell, (the Patriark Anaſtaſius hauing dyed a litle before) *Copronimus* named two to preſide, *Theodoſius* Bishop, of Epheſus, and *Siſinnus Paſtillas* Bishop of *Perge*. They ſate and acted from the ſecond of February 754. untill the 20. of Auguſt, in the Emperors Palace, to the end they might vvith more conueniency know his vvill and pleaſure in matters of *Teophil.*

Faith, and acordingly frame their definitions and Decrees. But this being murmured at, they thought fit to remoue, when all was agreed upon: Copronimus himſelf going before them in ſtate to the Church of our Lady of *Blaquernes*, vvhich he had before prepared for their reception, by defacing all the rich Imagery therof both painted and Moſaik work; whither being come, the Emperor mounting upon a high place at the left ſide of the Altar, ouer againſt the Imperial Throne, made a diſcourſe of that reformation of Chriſtianity which now he had ſetled in the Councel; then commanding a certain Monk called *Conſtantin* (vvho had bin formerly depoſed from a ſmale Bishoprik in Pamphilia for his ſcandalous ond debaucht life) to aſcend to the ſame place, vvhere himſelf vvas; and shewing him to the Aſſembly, pronounc't in a loud voice theſe words, *long liue the œcumenical Patriark Conſtantin*; and vvithout any other form, or ceremony, this vvicked fellow vvas declared Patriark of Conſtantinople.

Act. a S. Steph. iunior.

Act Stephan. iun.

Teoph.

In this Conuenticle (vvhich themſelues called the ſeuenth œcumenical Councell) their main drift vvas to confound the notion of *Image* vvith that of *Idol*. But

becauſe this could not be don vvithout changing the nature and names of things, and that their horrid falſifications of Scripture, and Fathers to confirm their impoſtures were diſcouered, they took a new vvay to plant their doctrin and publish their Decrees, vvhich vvas, to follow the Emperor and the Patriark to the Imperial *Piazza*, and there command the people to hold up their hands, and ſweare by the Croſs, the holy Euangeliſts, and the body and bloud of Chriſt, (the Iconoclaſts reiected not the Catholik doctrin of Tranſubſtantiation) that from thence forward they vvould hold Images to be Idols, and all vvho vvould vvorship them (though not vvith that ſupreme *Latria* vvhich is due only to God, but vvith an inferior religious honor due to Saints) to be Idolaters. And then all thoſe Bishops cryed aloud, *Novv at length the vvorld is freed from idolatry*; as if forſooth, their counterfeiting and compliance, together vvith the force and fraud vvhich vvas impoſed upon the people vvere a reformation or confirmation of Chriſtianity. The Emperor had a mind to draw them on to a farther point, to renounce Chriſts Diuinity, and the honor as vvell as the interceſſion of our *Acta Steph.*

Layd the Mother of God; and of the Saints; but he vvas perſuaded to giue ouer that attempt, as being of dangerous conſequence; and becauſe the people might not think there had bin any ſuch deſign, they made Decrees againſt any vvho would ſay Chriſt vvas not God, or that his Mother and the Saints ought not be prayed unto to intercede for us. They vvorded them thus. *If any doth not confeſs that the alvvayes bleſſed Virgin Mary is properly and truly Mother of God, and ſuperior to all Creatures viſible and inuiſible, and doth not implore her interceſſion vvith ſincere Faith, as hauing liberty* (*or povver*) *vvith him vvho vvas born of her, Let him be Anathema.* Then foloweth that concerning the Saints thus. *If any doth not acknovvledge that the Saints ought to be vvorshipt* (or venerated) *before God, both in ſoul and body, as hauing liberty,* (or power) *to interuene or intercede for the vvorld, acording to the tradiiton of the Church, let him be Anathema.* Notwithſtanding theſe Decrees *Copronimus* continued ſtill in his blaſphemies againſt the Mother of God, and the Saints, and burnt as many of their reliques as he could lay hands on, but had ſtill (as was ſaid) a great veneration for Croſſes, as if theſe were not

Concil. Nicen. 2. Edit. Par. pag 365.

Images or representations of Christs passion, and his true Cross.

Though many took the new Oath which the Emperor and his Bishops had prescribed for believing that Images were *Idols*; few or none, believed themselues, because the very words declared the distinction, and the Monks were so zealous in explaining it whersoeuer they came, thas it was impossible for Copronimus to propaget his religion by so mercenary a Councel, and so incredible an Oath. Therfore som of his Ministers who were Nestorians, told him, that Oath did rather preiudice than promote his reformation, for it being made the Test, or distinctiue sign of loyal subiects as well as of reformed Christians, the tendring of it, would corrupt both Church and state, none being to be employd in the Commonwealth who refused to take that Oath; so that all places of trust and honor would be soon filld up with perjur'd persons, and such will not scrupule more to act against their Soueraign, than to forsweare themselues. Wherfore they humbly begd of his Majesty he would be pleased to think of som other publik instrument which honest men might subscribe unto, and sweare, without

forfeiting their iudgment, or diſſembling their Faith. That none could ſweare Images were Idols without falling unto at leaſt one of thoſe inconueniencies. That nothing was more inconſiſtent with the ſafety of a Prince, or the quiet of his Dominions, than officers indifferent for any Oathes which might aduance them. That ſuch men ſerued the times, not their King; whoſe intereſt ad perſon they would ſell whenſoeuer they could make a good bargain for themſelues. That if he would make Chriſts and his ſaints Images *Idols* indeed, he should declare againſt Chriſts Diuinity, and againſt his Mother and ſeruants ſanctity. That whether this was conſcientious he knew beſt, they examined not; they were ſure it was more coherent to the notion of an *Idol*, which ſignified the likeneſs of what was not, and therfore if Chriſt was not God, the Image that related to him as God and man, and by which the Chriſtians worshipt him as both, muſt haue bin an *Idol*, as alſo the Images of his Mother and Saints, which repreſented them as the Mother and ſeruants of God, wheras if Chriſt had not the Diuinity and humanity united in one perſon, neither was he God, nor they the Mother or ſer-

uants of God, and by conſequence their *Images* were but *Idols*, or falſe ſimilitudes of what had no ſuch real being as was held by thoſe who uenerated them.

Though the Emperor lik't vvell of this aduice (himſelf alſo being a *Neſtorian* in his iudgment, as hath bin ſayd) yet he Knew not how to bring it about, by reaſon of the oppoſition he found in the Bishops, and appeard by the Decrees they had made in their Aſſembly concerning the Diuinity of Chriſt. Howeuer he reſolued to ſound his Patriark *Conſtantins* temper, as he had once before that of *Anaſtaſius* (his Predeceſſor) in the ſame matter. Taking him aſide, askt him, *VVhat harm vvere it Patriark, if hence forvvard vve did not call Mary the Mother of God, but only the Mother of Chriſt?* Conſtantin though *Conformiſt* enough in other points, yet ſtuck at this, and caſting himſelf at the Emperors feet, anſwerd, *God forbid, your Maieſty ſhould entertain ſuch a thought. Do you not ſee hovv execrable the memory of one of my Predeceſſors, (Neſtorius) is, for hauing maintaind ſuch a propoſition.* The Emperor uexed to find ſo great reſiſtance in a man raiſed by himſelf to humor his paſſion; and promote whatſoeuer religion he would think fit, diſſem-

bled, and replyed, *Do not you ſee that I ask't this queſtion to Knovv vvhether it be a point of Faith? Lets talk no more of it, and haue you a care that no liuing Creature knovv I ſpoke to you of this matter.* He vvas ſorry to haue diſcouered himſelf to no purpoſe, in a buiſneſs, vvhich if published, vvould make him yet more odious to his people. But though Conſtantin Kept Copronimus his councell, yet he found at length by too late experience, that not any thing is more dangerous, than to be truſted vvith the ſecret of a vvicked and jealous Prince. For,

Teoph. Cedren. From that houre the Emperor reſolued to ruin his Patriark, firſt in his reputation, and afterwards depriued him of his life. The firſt he did cunningly, the laſt cruelly. The Patriark, as vve haue related, had bin depoſed from his firſt Bishoprik for his debauchery, and vvas ſtill of a looſe life. *Copronimus* being ſo great an enemy to the Monks, told Conſtantin that he could not endure any thing vvhich ſauored of the Monaſtical profeſſion, and that he hauing bin a Monk before he vvas a Bishop, and upon that ſcore unmarried, he vvould haue him take a vvife, and be more in the Court than in the Church. This

pleaſed Conſtantin uery much, and acordingly took a bedfellow, vvas continualy in Court, often inuited to dine at the Emperors table, and to ſee all thoſe diuertiſements vvherwith vvorldly men delude themſelues, and driue away the ſerious thoughts of death and Eternity. After that the Emperor had rendred his Patriark thus ridiculous and infamous; he ſuborned ſom Apoſtat Monks to ſweare that he had ſpoke moſt unworthily of his Majeſty, vvherupon he vvas banished to the Iſland of the Prince. Heer he gaue uent to his paſſion, and ſeing himſelf ſo ill uſed, he diſcouered that ſecret vvhich untill then he had Kept, and diſcourſed vvith euery one how *Copronimus* had ſolicited him to reuiue the *Neſtorian* hereſy againſt Chriſts Diuinity, and the Bleſſed Virgins title of Gods Mother. *Copronimus* being informed of all, had him brought in chains to Conſtantinople, and there cudgelld, and vvhipt vvithout mercy after that ſentence of degradation had bin giuen againſt him by *Nicetas* (an illiterat Eunuke) vvhom *Copronimus* vvould needs name Patriark. Then he commanded that Conſtantin should be ſtript and ſet upon an Aſs, vvith his head and eyebrowes shaued, and thus led by *Cedren.*

his own nephew to the publik Theater, and there moſt ignominiouſly treated. From thence he vvas ſent to priſon, and thither ſom Senators vvere ſent to him, to aſk, vvhat he thought of the Emperors Religion? The miſerable man hoping to mollify the Emperors heart vvith a flattering anſwer ſayd, that his Majeſties Faith vvas pure and moſt Orthodox; vvherupon his head vvas immediatly ſtruck off, and he made an example of mans fraud and frailty.

Though Copronimus had preuaild with ſo many ambitious Biſhops at Conſtantinople to diſſemble their Faith, yet he could not ſtop the Monks mouthes, nor fright or flatter them out of that belief vvhich they had inherited from their Founder Saints Baſilius. And though he forc't many of them to leaue the Citties and liue in Mountains and deſerts; yet many left the cells and caues wherin they had bin retired, and came to exhort and reprehend *Copronimus* in Conſtantinople. Two are moſt famous for their conſtancy, and his cruelty. The firſt is ſaint Andrew, ſirnam'd *Calabyte*, for hauing liued his whole life in a Cabin and deſert of the Iſland of Candia, untill he heard of *Copronimus* his

perſecution. Then he went ſtraight to his Imperial Citty, and there lodged alſo in a Cabin neer our Ladyes Church, ſpending the night in prayer, and the dayes in preaching, he confirmed the Catholiks in their Faith, and confuted that of the Iconoclaſts with ſo much zeal and ſucceſs, that the Emperor reſolued to put him to death, eſpecialy after that one day he told him to his face, neer the Church of ſaint *Sabas*, where the Martyrs vvere tormented in his preſence, that he was an other Iulian Apoſtat, and a perſecutor of JESVS Chriſt. Wherupon he had him vvipt to death.

The other was ſaint *Stephen* the yonger who led ſo miraculous and Angelical a life in the mountain of ſaint *Auxentius*, that *Copronimus* reflecting upon his great credit, and the influence he had upon the people of Aſia, ſent the Senator *Caliſtus* (an eloquent, but a wicked, man) to gain him to his ſide; that not ſucceding, he endeuored to diſcredit the ſaint by hiring two falſe Witneſſes who ſwore he had bin too familiar vvth an illuſtrious and holy Widow called *An*, vvho liued in a Monaſtery of Nuns. *An* vvas examined, and denying the fact, was torturd, and dyed in the

Act: Stephan. iun. apud Damaſc.

torment. Her ſeruant that accuſed her was in recompenſe of her periury married to the other Accuſer, by whom she had two children, twins; to whom while she gaue ſuck; they ſtuck ſo faſt to her breſts, that they neuer could be drawn from them, untill that vipers generation together with the Mother dyed.

Notwithſtanding this iudgment in fauor of theſe two Saints innocency, ſaint *Stephen* was banished to a remote Iſland, but vvorking there many miracles vvith the Images of our Sauior, and the B. Virgin, he vvas ſent for to Conſtantinople; at *Chryſopolis*, in his way thither, he confuted the chief of the Iconoclaſt Bishops moſt learnedly. In the Imperial Citty, and in preſence of all the Court and people, he did the ſame vvith a vulgar argument, but an extrauagant action. Shewing a peece of the Emperors coyn vvith his Image, ſtampt upon it, he askt the Aſſembly whoſe picture that vvas. They anſwering it vvas the Emperors, he caſt it into the dirt, and trampled it under his feet. At which the Iconoclaſts being uexed, they fell upon the good old man, and vvere carrying him in great haſt to throw him into the ſea. But the Emperor ſtopt them, and re-

ſerued the ſaint for greater torments; who told his Majeſty, that if he thought himſelf injured (as reaſonably he might) in his Image; he might alſo belieue that Chriſt vvas injured by vvhat the Iconoclaſts did to his own and the ſaints pictures. But no reaſons could appeaſe *Copronimus* his anger, he ſent Stephen to priſon, where he found 342. Monks in fetters and full of ſcars and ſores which they had receiued for profeſſing the Catholik worship of Images. In the priſon the ſaint vvas almoſt cut to pieces, and then dragd through the ſtreets of the Citty ſo furiouſly, that his limbs were ſcaterd, and caſt into the *Pelagium*, called ſo, becauſe the Emperor had demolished the old Church of the Martyr ſaint *Pelagius*, and made it a burial place for Infidels and Malefactors. He who gaue the mortal wound to ſaint Stephen, was himſelf ſtruck vvith an other, though inuiſibly, and dyed immediatly. Many othets vvere in danger neer the Emperors Pallace, where alone a shower of hail of an incredible weight and greatneſs fell at the ſame time. This man vvas ſo much reuered by the Chriſtians of the Eaſt, that all the misfortunes vvhich hapned afterwards to Copronimus, vvere by them attributed

Teophil. Cedren. Acta S. Step'. Miſcel. l 22. Zonar.

to his cruelty againſt ſo great a Saint. Euen the publik calamities vvere interpreted priuat chaſtiſements inflicted by God upon the Emperor, for perſecuting of Stephen: thoſe great Mountains of Ice, and ſnow, vvhich threatned to batter and bury under them the vvalls and Citty of Conſtantinople, vvhen they vvere driuen upon it by the winds, after the ſea had bin frozen thirty cubits deep for one hundred miles, and men walkt upon it from Europe to Aſia. The loſs of Copronimus his great Army ſent againſt the Bulgars, embarkt upon two thouſand ſix hundred ſmale Veſſells. Strange *Meteors* that appeared in the air. Theſe and other extraordinary accidents vvere lookt upon as ſo many marks of Gods indignation againſt *Copronimus* his perſecuting St Stephen, and the worſhip of Images. I do not ſay theſe vvere Miracles; but if the vvorld miſtooke them in that age for ſuch, that doth ſufficiently euidence the Chriſtians vvere ſo far from thinking Image vvorſhip Idolatry unlawfull, that they belieued God wrought Miracles to punish ſuch as thought ſo.

Teoph.

Yet in this uery tyme were wrought undeniable Miracles to confirm Image vvorſhip, the interceſſion of Saints, and

the honor exhibited to their reliques. In *Beritus*, a Town of Syria, that uery year 765. the Iewes crucified Christs Image, as their forefathers had don himself; and run a lance into its side, to the end nothing might be omitted of vvhat had bin don in *Ierusalem* the day of our redemption. Immediatly gusht out of the Image such a great quantity of bloud and vvater, that the Churches both of the East and vvest vvere plentifully furnisht therwith, and all diseases infallibly cured. All the Iewes vvere conuerted, vvhich proues there was no conspiracy or cheat in the buisness, beeause they managed and published it themselues. And not only the Eastern Church doth celebrat the memory of this miracle, but the second general Councell of *Nice* doth relate it as unquestionable; in which Councel were many Bishops who might haue bin witnesses to it, or at least heard it from those who were present, or neer the place where so great a prodigy happend. Neither *Copronimus* himself, or any one of the Iconoclasts could contradict the truth of this story, notwithstanding their concern in prouing it false, to justify their doctrin and persecution. The other Miracle was a conti-

Concil. 2. Act. 4.

nual one, and in the Emperors own sight.
Teophan. For, in St *Euphemias* Church whither all sorts of people went to pray to the saint, and worship her reliks, an infinit number were cured of all diseases by an odoriferous unguent that ran from her Shrine. This also could not be the effect of couetous Monks; for they might haue sould the unguent (which was a certain cure) to the Apotecaries, or any others, for more money than they could get by it in their Church.

The miracles wrought no other effect upon Copronimus than to increase his hatred against the saints, their intercession, their worship and that of their reliques and Images. In so much that notwithstanding his Councel of Iconoclast Bishops had defined that praying so saints, as Intercessors, was Catholik doctrin, and anathematized all who sayd the contrary, yet the Emperor pretending to be spiritual head of the Church, as well as temporal, issued out Orders to all his officers, that euery one of his subiects, both ecclesiastical and lay persons, should take an Oath of abjuration against not only the worship of saints Images, but against that of the saints themselues, their reliques, and their intercession

interceſſion. And becauſe the aforeſaid reliques and body of the glorious Martyr St *Euphemia* were not only an eyſore to him, but a cleer conuiction (by dayly Miracles) of his obſtinacy, he commanded hercoffin and body to be thrown into the ſea; which arriuing at the Iſland of *Leſmos*, was honored deuoutly by the Catholiks, and 22. years afterwards brought back to Conſtantinople, when the perſecution ceaſed. One circumſtance did much heighten it: *Coſmas* Bishop of *Epiphania* in Syria, had ſould and waſted the plate of his Church, and fearing to be ſeuerely puniſhed by his Metropolitan for ſo great a fault, he declared himſelf Iconoclaſt, and implored the Emperors protection. This ſecond fault was a ſufficient ground for the excommunication which not only his own Metropolitan, but the two other Patriarchs of the Eaſtern Church iſſued forth againſt him. The ſame three Patriarchs, who were Coſme of Alexandria, Theodore of Antioch, and an other Theodore of Ieruſalem, in a general Synod of the Eaſt at Ieruſalem cenſured not only the reuolted Bishop *Coſmas*, but condemned as heretical the Iconoclaſts Councel at Conſtantinople, and ſent a ſubmiſſiue and Syno-

dical letter to the Bishop of Rome, gi-uing him an account of their fact and Faith.

This zeal of the Oriental Patriarchs (which *Copronimus* called inſolency) did ſo incenſe him, that he commanded his Lieu-tenants and Gouernors, *Michel* of Meliſſe, *Manes* of Galatia, and *Lacanodragon* of Thracia, to maſſacre or torment as many Catholiks as refuſed to take the Oath of abiuration. This laſt was moſt cruel in exe-cuting his Maſters Orders, eſpecialy againſt the Monks; whom as well as all the Reli-gious women of his gouernment he ſum-mon'd to the plains about *Epheſus*, and there proclaimd they should either marry one an other, or immediatly haue their eyes put out, and be banished to the Iſland of *Cyprus*. Such as were weary of a regu-lar life, and likt not to be blind or bani-shed, coupled themſelues together. The others (who were the greater part) were content rather to looſe their ſight, than renounce their Faith; and were ſent out of hand to the place of their exile; where they all dyed glorious Martyrs. At the ſame tyme the Gouernor ſent his baſe ſon *Leo* with one of the Apoſtat married Monks through all his Gouernment; when theſe

met any one that carried reliques about him, he was burnt with them. Others were whipt to death; others after their hair and beards were dipt in oyle or pitch, were choakt with the smoke and fire therof: others dyed by the sword. Som few were permitted to liue after being tormented, to the end their sight might fright their friends. To this Gouernor the Emperor writ a letter acknowledging the great satisfaction he had of his good seruices, assuring him that they should be rewarded, and that no seruant vnderstood better his Masters inclinations and intentions, than Lacanodragon did his.

These cruelties obliged *Paul* Bishop of Rome (seing other Popes Legats had not bin successfull in negotiating vvith the Emperor) to solicit *Pepin* King of the *Gauls*, or French, that he vvould be pleased to send Ambassadors, as a Christian King, together vvith his Legats, to *Copronimus*, desiring him to desist from persecuting the Catholiks; vvhich vvas readily condescended unto. They arriued at Constantinople in a time the Emperor vvas not in a condition to pursue his design of falling upon Italy, his vvhole Nauy and Army hauing bin lost a litle before, going against the

Bulgars; and therfore hee anſwered they had preuented him, for that he vvas then ſending an Embaſſy to King *Pepin* to moue a mariage between his ſon *Leo* and the Princeſs *Giſile Pepins* daughter; therby to eſtablish a perpetual peace and amity between the two Crouns. That as for his proceedings in point of Religion, he would ſend ſom of his Bishops to giue the King and all France reaſons for what he had don. And therfore with the ſix Senators which he ſent as Ambaſſadors, went alſo the ableſt Bishops of the Iconoclaſts.

When they came to King Pepins preſence, the Ambaſſadors moued the alliance, and demanded for a portion with the Princeſs, the reſtitution of the Exarchat of *Rauena*, and other Eſtates, which *Pepin* had beſtowed upon the ſea Apoſtolik. The chief of the Bishops made a long ſpeech to excuſe the perſecution, it being abſolutly neceſſary for the preſeruation and purity of the Chriſtian Religion; which had bin ſo extremely corrupted (though inſenſibly) with Idolatry, that if God had not opend this Emperors and his Fathers eyes, and ſtirr'd up their zeale, there had not bin in the Church any ſign of Chriſtianity; for the Paſtors and Prelats

therof were so blind, that they would not see how cleerly God prohibits the making and worshiping of Images in the very first precept of the Decalogue. This they would make appeare to his Majesty in a National Synod of the French Bishops and Clergy, whensoeuer he would think fit to heare them.

King Pepin answered the Ambassadors, that it was the custom of the French Princes, to marry with one an other; and besides, that the Emperors son, not being a Catholik, he could not marry his daughter to him without the Popes allowance. As for the Exarchat of Rauena, he had iustly got it by his sword from the Lombards, and disposed of it, and that the gifts of Kings (like those of God) ought not be recalld. Then turning to the Iconoclast Bishop, he told him, it was impossible, so uisible a profession as that of adoring Images for Gods, and so extremly opposit to Christianity, could creep into the Church insensibly, and without being obserued, or opposed by any of the innumerable Pastors and Prelats therof; whose duty and practise had alwayes bin to watch and preach aginst any the least nouelies in doctrin and worship. That *Constantin* the

firſt Chriſtian Emperor, who pulld down Idolatry, ſet up and worshipt (with approbation aand applauſe of thoſe pureſt times) the uery Images and publik worship in Conſtantinople which *Copronimus* and his Father deſtroyed, and burnt as Idols; that for his part, he could not comprehend, how there could be ſo great ignorance in the Church for ſo many ages, as not to underſtand rightly the words of Scripture, and the true meaning of the firſt commandement; or if it was rightly underſtood, how the Church men could be ſo wicked as to conceal the true ſenſe, and contradict their own conſcience, and damn all the ſouls whoſe ſaluation depended of their inſtruction. That it was alſo ſtrange, ſo many learned Monks and Bishops as Copronimus had tormented and put to death, would ſuffer, and refuſe his fauor, and preferments, upon ſo foolish an account as the worshiping of Images, if it be not lawfull. That it would be hard to perſuade the world, men were not honoured and injured by the reſpect and afront don to their ſtatues and pictures: and if this was agreable to reaſon, he ſaw none, why Chriſt and his Saints might not be honourd and iniur'd in theirs.

That in the firſt commandement God did not prohibet, but proportion and limit the worship of Images, acording to the rules of reaſon; and theſe dictat as euery perſon ought to be worshipt or reſpected acording to his quality (religiouſly or ciuily, more or leſs ſubmiſſiuely, as he is qualified) ſo his ſimilitude may, in as much as it repreſents his perſon. But this he would remit (as they deſired) to the diſcuſſion of that Synod which he deſigned in France, to heare their defence.

The King aduertiſed the Pope of all that had paſſed, and the Pope approued of the intended Synod, which met at *Gentilly* neer Paris. And though the Acts therof be not extant, yet by the conſtant beliefe and practiſe of the Gallican Church, and the Popes writing for the learned Bishops therof immediatly after the Synod, to aſſiſt at that which was held at Rome, concerning the ſame matter of Image worship, it doth ſufficiently proue that the Emperors Bishops parted from France with as litle ſatisfaction as his Ambaſſadors. The Roman Synod was held by Stephen 4. who ſucceeded Paul. The French Bishops who aſſiſted therat, were Archbishop Vilicaire of Sens, Lulle of Mo-

Ep. Hadr. ad Carol. Mag. Anaſt. in Steph.

guntia, Gauien of Tours, Addo of Lions, and eight more, uery learned men. Theſe together with thoſe of Italy and many others, condemned again the Councel of Conſtantinople and its Iconoclaſts, as heretiks, and approued of the Synodical letter which the three Patriarks of the Eaſt ſent to the Pope, and of their Cenſures againſt the ſame Councel and its errors. And becauſe it was obiected by the Iconoclaſts that Saint *Gregory the Great* in one of his Epiſtles ſeemes to limit the uſe of Images to the inſtruction of the faithfull, condemning their worship, *Herulphe* Biſhop of Langres quoted the ſame Saint Gregories Epiſtle to *Secundinus* (to whom he ſent the Images of Chriſt, of his bleſſed Mother, and of the Apoſtles Peter and Paul) wherin he tells him, that we do not proſtrat our ſelues before the Image of our Sauior, as if it were a Deity; but by that act of proſtrating our ſelues before the Image, we adore him vvhom it repreſents, either newly born, or dying, or ſitting in his Throne. So that he approued of worshiping Images as ſuch, but not as Gods or Idols.

Ep. Hadr. ad Carol. c. 12. art. 6.

Greg l. 7. ep. 53.

Copronimus ſeing there were no hopes of the French alliance, and of the reſti-

tution of what he had loſt in Italy, and that his Councel and errors were condemnd by the Patriarks of the Eaſt as well as by the Pope, by whom he was exhorted to return to the Catholik Faith, and threatned with new Cenſures and with the loſs of the Occidental Empire if he perſecuted his Chriſtian ſubiects for a point and practiſe of Chriſtianity, fell again to his old trade of murthering and maſſacring not only Monks, but the Senators, and others who had bin conuerted by obſeruing the conſtancy and miracles of ſo many Martyrs. And becauſe ſom of them had bin conſcious of his coniuring, and offering Victims to the Deuils in a place without the Citty where once ſtood the Church of Saint *Maura* the Martyr, which he had pulld down, he put all them as their Confeſſors to death, fearing they would tell tales of him, though few men were ignorant of his Diabolical ſacrifices, and therfore the ſeal of ſacramental Confeſſion needed not be broke to publish them. He was ſo obſtinat in his errors, that to preuent euen after his death, the reſtoring of the Catholik Faith, he would not marry his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor Leo *Porphyrogenitus* to *Irene*, who was a

Catholik, untill she abjured her profession, and turnd Iconoclaſt. To ſolemnize her change of Religion as well as the mariage, he had her crownd Empreſſe, and created his two ſons *Chriſtopher* and *Nicephorus*, Ceſars; and their yongeſt brother *Nicetas*, *Nobiliſſimo*, which was the third dignity after the Emperor. Theſe three he had by *Eudoxia*; Leo was by the King of the *Auares* or Scythians daughter; and shee dying before he was capable of being inſtructed in her Catholik Faith, followed that of his Father.

After this fit of rejoycing, he had uery ſad times; the Saracens and Bulgars worſted him in many fights, and (which he thought wors) *Tebericus* the Bulgarian King outwitted him after a moſt shamefull manner. Copronimus had friends (that is, honorable ſpies) in that Kings Councel and Court, and by their intelligence had defeated the Bulgars, and waſted much of their Countrey. The King ſent to the Emperor a truſty Meſſenger to aſſure him that he had rather pay to him a tribute, than be maſterd by his own ſubiects; and becauſe he Knew his Majeſty had friends among them, and that theſe would concurr with his deſign of making himſelf

his Vassal, which could not be effected without the Knowledge of som, and that he durst not confide in any Bulgars who were not engaged in the Imperial interests, he desired his Majesty to let him Know who they were. Copronimus unwarily sent him their names, and he immediatly had their bodyes saw'd, and put his Army in order to march against the Emperor; who was so uexed to see himself foold, that before he could com to front the Bulgars Camp, the Physitians despaird of his life. He was embarkt for Constantinople, but thinking to rest at the Castle of *Strongyle* one night, before he could land there, he cryed out that he was in horrid pains and flames of fire, and that he was condemnd to continue in them for all eternity, for hauing blasphem'd and dishonoured *Mary*; vvhom now (by his last vvill and Testament) he commanded should be honoured in the vvhole Empire as the Mother of God, and care taken her Church of Blaquernes, and that of Saint *Sophia* (vvhich two he had most prophaned) should be repaired; and then he dyed, the 14. of September an. 775. in the 56. of his

age, to the great joy of all the vvorld, euen of his friends and Fauorits, vvho ſtood in continual feare of his jealous tyrannical humor. The caracter which the Greek Authors giue of him is, that he was a *viſible Deuil.*

LEO THE FOVRTH.

The beginnings of the Reign of Leo the 4.th His politik moderation at first, and cruelty after vvards. His sacrilege, vvhence ensued his death. Of Constantin and Irene his succes-sors. Their manner of Policy to restore Catholik Religion. A Councel called at Constantinople and disturbd by the tumultuous soldiors set on under hand by the Captain of the Gards, vvhich vvere disbanded by stratagem. A general Councel held at Nice *in Bithinia. The Catholik Religion restored. The difference betvveen Irene and her son Constantin their misfortunes and death.*

THe horrible death of *Copronimus*, together with the hatred which all sorts of people bore against his person and proceedings, made his son Leo, (now sole Emperor) conceal his intentions, and curb his inclinations; vvhich vvere no less peruerse than his Fathers, as appeared, when

he thought it ſeaſonable to declare them. But reflecting upon the dangers vvherun. to new Soueraigns are expoſed by the diſcontent of perſecuted ſubiects, he ſteerd a courſe in gouerning contrary to that which Copronimus had Kept. He did not put in execution the penal lawes, and conniued at the banished Bishops and Monks return. With this he appeaſed the Orthodox party, but neuer permitted them to ſet up Images. The Iconoclaſts he pleaſed by diſtributing much money to the ſoldiors, and fauoring the Officers; in ſo much that they all ſwore his yong ſon Emperor and his fathers Collegue, without being ſubornd or ſolicited therunto. He vvas uery Kind to his ſiſter *Anthuſa*, vvho had bin bred a Catholik by a holy Nun of the ſame name, at the inſtance of her Mother the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, notwithſtanding her husband *Copronimus* his auerſion againſt the Nuns perſon and profeſſion. But *Eudoxia* lying a dying in childbed, and hearing of the Miracles the Nun wrought in confirmation of Image vvorship, and how conſtantly she had ſufferd the cruel torments to which *Copronimus* had ſentenc't her, vvith his permiſſion she ſent for *Anthuſa*, and begd her prayers for her

life and ſafe deliuery. The holy Nun prayd in her preſence, and aſſured her she should liue, and be ſoon and ſafely deliuered of a boy, and a girle; vvhich profecy being ue. rified, the girle vvas called *Anthuſa*, and bred in the Catholik Religion by the Nun ſo virtuouſly, that she profeſſed perpetual chaſtity, and diuided all her rich patrimony among the poor except what shee reſeru'ed for building hoſpitals, and other pious vvorks.

This calme laſted untill the Emperor was informed that his vvife vvorshipt Images in her Cloſet, though she had ſworn to his Father, she belieued they vvere Idols, and vvould alwayes continue in that belief. This intelligence raiſed a moſt furious ſtorm, *Leo* ran in a rage to *Irenes* Cloſet, and finding there no Images, ſearcht all corners and coffers, to as litle purpoſe. But at length he vvas aduertiſed by his ſpyes they vvere ſowed up in a pillow, vvherof the Empreſs made uſe; this prouing true, (for there vvas the Image of our Sauior, and that of his Mother) he reuiled her vvith all the ignominious termes, that zeal and paſſion could ſuggeſt to a louing and diſobliged hushand. He offered to forget and forgiue the fault, if she vvould confeſs it, and

diſcouer thoſe who helpt her to the Idols. But she knowing that to betray herſelf and Catholiks to her husband, was no part of her duty, denyed the matter. At laſt it vvas diſcouered by a Courtior who expected preferment by telling tales, that *Iames*, Captain of the Gards *Strategius* and *Theophanes*; two of the bedchamber, vvere they vvho helpt her to the Images. Hereupon they vvere cudgeld, vvhipt, and their flesh torn from their backs; then led upon Aſſes through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople: and loaden vvith chains and bolts, caſt into a dungeon, vvhere *Theophanes* ſoon dyed, the two others ended their dayes in a Monaſtery; and the baſe informer was made Captain of the Gards.

Teophil. Cedren. Zonar. Miſcel. l. 23.

Not long after this, the Emperor dyed of a ſtrange diſeaſe, occaſioned by his ſacrilegious couetouſneſs. In the Church of Saint *Sophia* vvas Kept a Croun of gold, ſet vvith the richeſt pretious ſtones the world could afford. It vvas a gift which the Emperor *Heraclius* had conſecrated to God in that Temple, and *Copronimus* himſelf durſt not touch it. Yet his ſon Leo took it from the Altar, and wore it upon his head one day that he was to go through the Citty in ceremony and ſtate. At his return

return to the Pallace, he felt his head pierc't with an intolerable pain; and euery one perceiued a circle, as it if were of burning coles encompase the same, iust where the Croun had bin: he was forc't to lye in his bed, and dyed in a uery short tyme, in the 31. year of his age, and the 5. of his reign.

CONSTANTIN AND IRENE.

IRene gouernd not only as Regent, during the Minority of her son Constantin (who was ten years old) but as if the Empire had belongd to her of right; being a witty and iudicious woman, she gaind both Senators and soldiors, to assert it for her during her life, and being a Catholik in her heart, she resolued to restore that Religion. The Iconoclasts, who Knew what she was in her inclinations and priuat deuotions, endeuored to proclaim *Nicephorus*, her late husbands brother, Empeperor, which she preuented after discouering their plot, by punishing them, and banishing him. And to secure herself and

her child in the Throne, she fore't his other Vncles to take holy Orders, without much examining their vocation or ſufficiency for that ſtate of life. She only conſulted the preſeruing of her own, and the publik tranquillity. And to the end none might pretend ignorance of their change and caracter, the ceremony was performed by the Patriark with great magnificence, all the Court aſſiſting at it, and her ſelf offering upon the Altar that rich Croun vvhich her husband had taken from it.

Her reign and her ſons ſucceſſion thus ſecured, all her thoughts vvere bent upon reſtoring the Catholik Religion; a deſign no leſs dangerous than difficult, all military and ciuil employments being diuided amongſt the *Iconoclaſts*. She truſted but two men (*Stauracius* and Taraſius) vvith the ſecret, and yet all the vvorld ſuſpected she deſignd a change. She did not profeſs to be a Catholik, neither did she any thing wherby men might iudge the contrary, by this neutrality, she diſcouered how her ſubiects were inclind, as to a change in Religion, vvho by diſcourſing of hers, declared what themſelues vvould haue don, in caſe she fauored the Catholik. Such as ſayd Images were Images, and not Idols, she reſolued to

truſt and employ. Such as made no diſtinction between two ſuch contrary notions, she thought fools or Knaues, and therfore not fit for her purpoſe: If they had vvit, she belieued they deſign'd (by accommodating themſelues to that vulgar error and foolish zeal of the people) to grow powerfull, and head a faction againſt the gouernment, and her reſolution.

In her Cabinet Councell There vvas a great debate, vvhether it vvere conuenient to ſet out an edict for liberty of conſcience, and for making Catholiks capable of employments: this being the firſt ſtep that could be made in their fauor, and abſolutly neceſſary for the end intended, it vvas the firſt thing taken into conſideration.

Stauracius (a man who accommodated himſelf to all times, and of a vvary, or rather fearfull diſpoſition) vvas againſt any ſuch declaration, or employing of Catholiks, untill their number vvere greater than that of the Iconoclaſts. But *Taraſius*, as vviſe and more reſolute, and religious than he, ſayd they could not expect ſo great a number of Iconoclaſts vvould be conuerted to the Catholik Religion, if this vvere not countenanc't. That the employing of a few Catholiks, vvould conuert

many heretiks. That ſom Catholiks vvere of ſo great merit, none could murmur at their preferment. That for his part, he vvisht the Empreſs vvould declare herſelf Catholik. That great affairs are not compaſſed by being afraid to attempt them. That in doing them by halfs, we betray our fear, and ſtop in the mid vvay, as if vve reſolued to run back at the firſt appearance of oppoſition. That nothing encouraged ſo much the common people to inſolency and rebellion, as their obſerving the Soueraign, durſt not own his religion, nor make uſe of his power, and prerogatiue; it being certain that he who dares not ſay vvhat he is, and ſtriues not to be vvhat he ought to be, vvill ſubmit to any thing, and com to be nothing. That in a change of Religion the multitudes nature (which inclines to nouelty) ought to be more conſidered than their number.

That it vvas a principle of the Iconoclaſts to own the Emperors ſpiritual ſupremacy; and that (as Head of their Church) *Copronimus* had confirmd, and ſomtimes altered their pretended general Councels Decrees. That if they did not ſtick now to that principle of the Soueraigns ſpiritual ſupremacy, they changed their own Reli-

gion; and most of themselues would iudge, it vvas more reasonable the Soueraign should alter it than the subiects. He concluded, their Religion vvas so absurd, that no man of sense vvho examined its grounds, could be of it.

That as the Prince his fauor, their own priuat interest, had bin the only motiues to embrace the Iconoclasts reformation, the same now appearing on the Catholiks side, vvould draw all men thither; That if any vvere Iconoclasts upon the score of conscience and education, vvhen once it were their interest to examin and inquire more strictly into the grounds of their Religion, they vvould soon discouer their former mistakes, and their present account in embracing a truth so beneficial as the Catholik vvould be upon the issuing forth that fauorable Declaration.

The Empress likt so well of *Tarasius* his opinion, that she resolued to follow it and put the management of the whole affair into his hands. To fit him for her design, *Paul* the Patriarck who retired himself into a Monastery, to do pennance for hauing dissembled his Faith during the former Emperors reign, and dying with the grief therof, by a most perfect act of contrition,

she named *Tarasius* his succeſſor, though her firſt thoughts were of marrying him; but he was ſo well qualified for the Church, and ſo beloued by all ſorts of people, that the election was approued of with general applauſe, and appearance of joy. Himſelf only reſiſted, reſoluing not to accept of it untill the people had bin diſpoſed to admit of a Catholik Councell, wherunto they would ſubmit their iudgments in matters of Religion, he declaring to the whole Aſſembly that he was a Catholik. This reſolute and ſincere way of proceeding was ſo aeceptable, that all the people cryed aloud, they were uery willing to haue ſuch a Councell, and be directed by it. Wherupon *Tarasius* was conſecrated Patriak on Chriſt maſs day an. 785. Both he and *Irene* gaue an account of all to *Hadrian* Bishop of Rome, and ſent him their profeſſion of Faith by the Bishop of Leontius deſiring his Holineſs as Vicar of Chriſt, and ſupreme Paſtor of his Church to preſide in the Councel, either in perſon, or by his Legats: The Pope ſent, as ſuch, Peter an Archprieſt, and an other Peter, Abot of the Monaſtery of St Sabas, vvith an excellent letter, shewing the difference between Images and Idols, and prouing it

Teoph. Anaſt. in præamb. Concil. Nicen. 2.

by Scripture and Fathers; he quotes many of the Greek Church; eſpecialy great ſaint Baſils words in his Creed and epiſtle againſt *Iulian* the Apoſtat. *I believe in one God, the Trinity, Incarnation*, &c. *I take alſo with the holy Apoſtles, Prophets and Martyrs, who ſupplicat to God for me, that by their mediation our moſt benign Lord may be propitious to me, and forgiue me my ſins. For which cauſe I honor and openly adore the hiſtories of their Images: for, this hauing bin deliuered to us by the holy Apoſtles, ought not be prohibited, therfore we erect their ſtoryes in all our Churches.* And St Iohn Chriſoſtoms upon the parable of the ſeed. *Is not the King injured by the violating of his garment? Do not you know that he who injures the Emperors Image, doth injure the imperial dignity, and the Emperor himſelf, as being its prototyp. Do not you Know that he who inueighs againſt the Image, or ſtatue, is not condemned as ſpeaking againſt an inanimat thing, but as ſpeaking againſt the King himſelf?* &c.

All things thus prepared and the moſt eminent Prelats of the Empire com to Conſtantinople, the Iconoclaſt Bishops (fearing that liberty of conſcience being granted, and Catholiks declared capable of employments, their own impoſtures

againſt holy Images would be diſcouered, and themſelues deſpiſed and empouerisht) reſolued to oppoſe the reſtoring of the Catholik Religion in the general Councell; and to that purpoſe had their conſultations, and Cabals. Their faction was headed by the Captain of the Emperors Gards, a man whoſe broken fortun had bin repaird by uniuſt forfeitures of the Catholiks eſtates, during *Copronimus* his perſecution. He was the fitteſt they could fix upon for their purpoſe, not only for his concern in oppoſing any Religion (himſelf had none) wherby his intereſt might be preiudiced, but becauſe he bore a particular malice to the Empreſs.

Yet now he pretended to be moſt loyal to her and her ſon, and they belieued him, notwithſtanding the common ſaying, that a reconciled enemy ſeldom is a real friend, and *Taraſius* his frequent aduertiſments, to beware of a man whoſe only policy and conſtant practiſe had bin, to ſell and betray thoſe vvho truſted him, or relyed upon his promiſes, which were moſt poſitiue, when he leaſt intended to perform. His extraction was ſo noble, his perſon ſo comly, his expreſſions ſo quaint and pithy, his conuerſation ſo pleaſing, that nature ſeemd

to haue conſpired with his owa artifices to make him the Deuils Engineer in promoting hereſy and rebellion, by pretending loyalty to his Prince, and friend ship to the Catholiks. For, though he was the *Butefeu* of the Iconoclaſts party, and had corrupted all the officers and ſoldiors of the Gards, and encouraged them to make ſeditious applications to the Emperor and his Mother, for recalling the Edicts in fauor of Catholiks; yet he perſuaded their Majeſties he abhorrd this way of proceeding; but humbly aduiſed them to yeeld to the times, for fear of greater inconueniencies. The Empreſs not thinking fit to follow this aduice, or condeſend to inſolent demands, he gaue ſecret Orders to ſom of his truſty Officers, that as ſoon as the general Councel were aſſembled, the Gards hould March up to the Church, and force it to diſperſe; nay bid them not ſpare the Emperor and his Mother, in caſe there would be any reſiſtance made by the people, and their Maieſties perſiſted in carrying on the deſign of reſtoring the worship of Images, and the Catholik religion.

All the Bishops met in the Church of the Apoſtles St Peter and St Paul, in the month of Auguſt; the Emperors alſo went

thither, and took their ſeats in the gallery that lookt into the Church. After the ordinary Ceremonies, the debate of Religion began. On a ſudain the Gards march't up to the Church; and with arms in their hands, bid the Prelats be gon, and not preſume to condemn the Religion or memory of their Emperor and benefactor Copronimus; if they departed not ſudenly, they would cut their throats. The Empreſs ſent ſom of her retinue to appeaſe the ſoldiors, but they grew inſolent, and threatned her and her ſon; wherupon she retired and bid the Biſhops do the ſame. *Taraſius* the Patriark was ſo litle frighted with this tumult, that from his ſeat he went to the Altar to offer therupon the unbloudy ſacrifice of the Maſs with as great tranquility of mind as he acuſtomed to do. None ſeemed to be more troubled at this ſedition than the Captain of the Gards, who rais'd it, and proteſted he knew nothing of the matter. But one of his confidents diſcouered all to the Empreſs. He ſuſpecting his treachery was known, retired from Court for fear of being dealt with as he deſerued.

Teoph.

Ignat. Monach. Ad ſacrã aram accedens, timoris nullum ſignũ præferens, incruentũ incipit ſacrificium, &c.

The Empreſs calls her Cabinet Councel, and askt what was to be don? *Stauracius* ſayd he had alwayes feared and fortold

what now they ſaw; and ſtuck ſtill to his old opinion of doing nothing, or not attempting any thing which was difficult, ſeeming to cenſure the Patriark of too much preſſing and precipitating affairs; and ſayd; That though in planting a new Religion, we ought to expect Miracles; yet in reſtoring or eſtablishing the old, it was rather a tempting of God than ſeruing him, to expect any; and that without a Miracle it was impoſſible to reſtore the Catholik Faith and the worship of Images in a gouernment wherin the Army and the ciuil Magiſtrat were Iconoclaſts. That it was better diferr the intended change until the hand of tyme might work the multitude unto a better temper, and ſom oportunity were offered wherof the Empreſs might take hold without danger. In the mean tyme he thought it her beſt courſe to run with the ſtream, and gouern by the lawes that were in force, and declare her ſelf and the Emperor auerſe to Catholiks, though they had deſired liberty for tender conſciences upon politik conſiderations of quieting mens minds, and encreaſing the trade. Yet ſeing this was not agreable to the humor and intereſt of the greateſt part of the ſubiects, they ought to giue them

the ſatisfaction they demanded for ſecuring their properties, and Religion. This diſcourſe together with *Stauracius* his alliance and friendship with the Captain of the Gards, occaſioned a ſuſpicion that they underſtood one the other, and that *Stauracius* had no Religion, though ſeing the Empreſs ſo bent upon the Catholik, he feignd to be of the ſame, therby to haue a hand in the gouernment, and in her moſt ſecret deſigns, from which he might exclude all who vvere not his own Creatures.

The Patriark ſurpriſed and ſcandaliſed at this diſcourſe, told *Stauracius*, he neither ſpoke like a good Chriſtian, nor a wiſe ſtateſman. Not like a Chriſtian, becauſe he would haue the Empreſs profeſs a falſe Religion: adding, that though we are not to expect Miracles in reſtoring the true one, when there are human meanes to do it, yet though the difficulties ſhould appeare greater than in that caſe, and God inſpired the Empreſs to reſtore it, she might without rashneſs or preſumption attempt it, and if neceſſary, expect Miracles; for that, Diuine inſpirations ouercom natural impoſſibilities, and are rational encouragements for us to endeuor what God inſpires; nay they are en-

gagements and aſſurances that by his Omnipotency he vvil make our endeauours effectual, though vve comprehend not how, no more than holy men do when they are inſpired to reuiue the dead, or compaſs any other inſuperable difficulty. But there vvas none (he ſayd) in reſtoring the Catholik Faith to the Empire. That it might be eaſily effected, if their Maieſties would apply their power to the maintenance of their prerogatiue, and let the ſubiects know they had as much reſolution as right to make them obey, and not intermedle with concerns ſo much aboue their ſphere as thoſe of the Church, and ſtate. That it was not his precipitation or preſſing for liberty of conſcience, brought things to the confuſion they were in, but *Stauracius* his timorouſneſs and irreſolution, wherby the Iconoclaſts councells grew vigorous, and themſelues inſolent. That to diferr the punishment of their ſedition, and the meeting of a general Councel, vvas to haſten the ruin of that litle which vvas left of the face and form of a gouernment.

That though it had bin a great ouerſight to haue vvinkt ſo long at the Captain of the Gards cabaling with the Iconoclaſt

Bishops and the discontented party, yet now that his guilt had made him retire, and that party wanted a head, those Gards ought to be cashcerd, and others rayſed, who were not auerſe from Catholik Religion, or at leaſt were ſo well inclind to the Emperors intereſt, as not to diſpute his Religion. That in Thracia and other parts of the Empire, were good Troops, wherof the officers might be gaind with money and hopes of better preferments. That thoſe of Conſtantinople might be remoued, and for that purpoſe the Emperor himſelf paſs ouer into Aſia, as if he were to march againſt the Saracens, and then disband thoſe ſeditious heretiks. This aduice was approued of. The Emperors with their retinue and baggage paſſed ouer to Aſia, and there the Gards vvere forc't to lay down their Arms, ſeing themſelues enuirond vvith the Army: out of vvhich were drawn other Gards of men Catholikly inclind, and the command of them giuen to known Catholiks. *Teoph.*

This brisk reſolution ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Ieonoclaſts, that they durſt not ſpeak againſt it. The general Councel (leaſt any other tumult should happen in Conſtantinople) was ſummon'd to *Nice* of *Bi-*

thinia, where the Popes Legats, and the deputies of the three Eastern Patriarks, met the Patriark of Constantinople and three hundred and fifty Bishops, wherof many bore the glorious marks of the torments they had sufferd in the former persecutions. They began that renowned Assembly on the 4. of September an. 787. in the Church of St *Sophia*, and there receiued the submission and recantation of som Iconoclast Bishops, as *Basile* of Ancyra, *Theodore* of Myra, and *Theodosius* of Amorium, who had bin Members of the heretical Conuenticle of Constantinople som 28. years before. Others they remitted to the next session, because the Councell was not fully satisfied of the sincerity of their repentance. In this first they anathematised all who contemned Catholik Tradition, pretending with *Arius*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and *Dioscorus*, that nothing vvas to be belieued as Faith, but vvhat vvas vvritten in Scripture.

In the next Session they examined the Faith of *Gregory* Bishop of Neocesarea, (vvho vvas reported to be the chief Head of the Iconoclasts) and the rest, restored them to the Catholik Communion, after that they had giuen all the signs of

true penitents. Then were read and applauded the letters and Confeſſions of Faith of the Patriarks and Monks of the Eaſt; as alſo the excuſe they gaue for not being perſonaly in the ſixth, nor in this ſeuenth œcumenical Councel, by reaſon of the Saracens perſecuting their flocks. Adding withall, that their abſence could be of no preiudice to the definitions of Religion, becauſe *the moſt holy Apoſtolik Roman Pope had agreed, and had bin therin by his Legats, as nowv alſo.* Immediatly after, the worship of Images was diſcuſſed, and the lawfulneſs therof proued by Scripture, Fathers, Catholik Tradition, undeniable Miracles, wherof that of *Beritus* was one. Then the Iconoclaſts lyes, impoſtures, falſifications of Scripture and Fathers were cleerly demonſtrated, as alſo that their hereſy had its ſource from the Samaritan ſectaries, and Manichees; who notwithſtanding were more conſequent in their falſe doctrin, and in calling *Images Idols*, than the Iconoclaſts; becauſe the Samaritans and Iewes ſayd Chriſt was not God, and the Manichees ſayd he had not a Real body; out of which error they euidently concluded his *Image* was an *Idol*, as not hauing a real obiect. But the Iconoclaſts confeſſing

confessing Christ was true God, and had a real body, contradicted themselues in maintaining his Image was an *Idol*, this vvord signifying the Image of vvhat had no real existence.

Then followed the Chatolik Decree concerning the Worship of Images, thus. We declare by this our Decree, that as the "sign of the Cross it set up in Churches, holy "Vessells, Vestements, streets, houses, and "highwayes, so ought holy Images; by "which name we understand those of "Christ our God and Sauior, those of our "Lady the blessed and immaculat Mother "of God, those of the holy Angels, as well "as of all Saints; becaus the more we see "them, the more we are moued to loue and "reuerence what they represent, Kissing "their Images, and worshiping the same "with an adoration of honor and respect; "but not at all with that true worship of "*Latria*, which acording to our Faith, is "due only to the Diuine nature. Yet as well "as to the figure of the holy Cross, To the "bookes of the holy Ghospell, and other "holy monuments we may offer incense "and lights to honor them, acording to the "ancient and deuout custom of the Church, "so we may to holy Images; becaus the "

„ honor exhibited to theſe paſſeth to the pro-
„ totyp; and he who adoreth the Image,
„ adoreth the perſon that is therby repreſen-
ted. This definition ſuppoſeth that the Iconoclaſts worshipt the ſign or figure of the Croſs, and therfore were not coherent to themſelues in not worshiping other holy Images.

The word *adoration* of Images not being ſo well explaind in the Latin tranſlation ſent to the Councel of *Frankford*, as it is in the original Greek Text of that of *Nice*, gaue occaſion to the miſtake of condemning at Frankford the Definition of this ſecond Nicen Councel concerning the worship of Images. But when a true copy was ſent to them, they approued their doctrin and Decree, as being the ſame with that of the Gallican Church, and of all Catholiks. And then it was accepted of as the ſeuenth œcumenical Councel through the whole world, in the weſt as well as in the Eaſt; The terms and meaning of the Fathers being well underſtood at Conſtantinople, the Empreſs and her ſon receiued it immediatly there with great joy and ſoſemnity; commanding the Churches and all other places where holy Images had bin, to be adornd again with them, with

great acclamations and deuotion of the Catholiks, who were countenanc't therin by the Emperors new Gards which stood in arms all the tyme of this ceremony.

Long after this, hapned great dissentions between Irene and her son the Emperor, in so much that they imprisond one the other, each reigning by turn, acording as their factions preuaild. *Irene* outliu'd her son, and in him ended the line of *Copronimus*. She was betrayd by *Stauracius*, but outliu'd him also: To strengthen herself against an other ungratefull Minister of state, called *Aetius*, she resolued to mary the Emperor of the West, Charles the Great, who sent Ambassadors to moue her in it; but they who were her domestik seruants and Councellors, seing she had neither son, nor any neer relation to succeed in the Empire, and that she vvas past childbirth, crossed that masch, and conspird to depose her setting up *Nicephorus*, great Chancelor of the Empire, in the Throne. This man banisht her to the Island of *Lesbos*, vvhere in a short tyme she dyed vvith grief, leauing a document to Soueraigns, to trust rather their next in bloud, than those vvho make them jealous of them. A Kings son or brother, is his greatest sa-

fety, though he be his immediat ſucceſſor; Whoſoeuer diuides their intereſts, deſtroyes both, and makes vvay for a ſtranger to poſſeſs the Croun, or turns Monarchy into a Commonwealth. To *Nicephorus* ſucceeded *Michael Curopalates*; in neither of their Reigns happend any thing uery remarkable concerning the Iconoclaſts; We will therfore paſs them ouer, and com to

LEO THE ARMENIAN.

His beginning, and ingratitude to the Emperor Michael Curopalates. He was an Iconoclaſt, though he pretended to be a Catholik. He defended Conſtantinople, and defeated Crummus the Bulgarian King. How he deuided the Catholiks by the aduice of his Fauorit Theodote, who employd therin one Iohn Yſilas *the Deuils Precurſor. His caracter, and preſomption in diſputing and writing againſt the Patriark and Catholiks. Theodote named Patriark by the Emperor. St Theodoreus his conſtancy againſt him and the Iconoclaſts. His ſuffering, Miracles, and writings for the Catholik worship of Images. Michael Balbus his plot againſt Leo diſcouered. His impriſonment, and ſtrange deliurance from a dungeon to the Imperial Throne by the Murther of Leo in the Church.*

HE was a ſoldior of fortune, and promoted for his valor to the high-

eſt military preferments, and to make himſelf capable of them, he pretended to be a Catholik, though he was an Iconoclaſt. Som foolish prediction (which was an ordinary practiſe in thoſe times) of his being one day Emperor, tempted him to aſpire to that dignity during the reign of *Nicephorus*, who cured his temptation by hauing him cudgelld, and confind to a Monaſtery; out of which priſon he was releaſed by *Michael Curopalates*, and made his General in the Eaſt. The thanks he returnd this Emperor, was to betray him in a battle againſt the Bulgars, and afterwards giue out among the ſoldiors that it was Michels want of courage and conduct loſt the victory. Wherupon they proclaimd *Leo* Emperor, and marcht with him to Conſtantinople, whither Michael had retired; and hauing notice of *Leo* his approach, reſign'd the Empire, ſending him the Croun and ſcepter therof, and took ſanctuary in our Ladyes Church, called *Pharus*. From thence he and his children were forc't by *Leos* Orders, his ſons made Eunukes, himſelf and they banisht to remote and different Iſlands, were they continued untill *Leos* death, though they expected their own euery moment. Six dayes after this

Emperors coronation, *Crummus* the Bulgarian King appeared with his victorious Army before Conſtantinople; *Leo* ſeing himſelf in danger, thought fit to gain the good will of his ſubiects by ſending a profeſſion of the Catholik Faith condemning the Iconoclaſts to the Patriark; and thus all well united, defended the Town ſo reſolutly, that *Crummus* thought time loſt before it; and in his retreat was defeated by *Leo*, and dyed ſoon after.

Crummus thus defeated and dead, his ſucceſſor not being actiue, and the Emperor fearing no diſturbance from Foreigners, thought it a fit time to alter the Catholik Religion of his ſubiects; and to imitat in all his actions the wicked Leo Iſauricus, acording to a promiſe he had made to a pretended Iconoclaſt Prophet, who aſſured him that in ſo doing, his reign would be uery long and proſperous. He began with altering his ſons name, which was *Symbates*, and would needs (in his coronation) call him *Conſtantin*, becauſe Iſauricus his ſon was call'd ſo. He conſulted with his Fauorit *Theodote*, of the ſafeſt way to compaſs a deſign ſo difficult; and both reſolued that the Catholiks being ſo numerous, nothing could be effected, if

they were not firſt diuided among themſelues; that the only way to effect this, was, to ſow, by meanes of ſom of their own debaucht and ambitious Churchmen, opinions fauoring and ſauoring of the Iconoclaſts doctrin. That theſe Churchmen and ſuch as followed their opinions, ought to be countenanc't, the others perſecuted, and their chief heads banished. That he should declare his intentions to the known and conceald Iconoclaſts. This laſt the Emperor did immediatly, and recomended to *Theodote* the finding out of debaucht and ambitious Churchmen, to diuide and diſturb the Catholiks.

The firſt man *Theodote* fixt upon for this employment, was one of whoſe knauery he had experience, for he had betrayd himſelf, and in the late diſputes and reuolutions, changed often parties and opinions, ſiding alwayes with that which was moſt for his conueniency, without any regard to conſcience. This fellow vvas called *John*, his vvit vvas ordinary like his learning, his writings dull and tedious; his life and conuerſation ſcandalous, his pride and preſumption moſt ridiculous, and his paſſions ſo unbridled, that his horrid Oaths his raging fury, and extrauagant geſtures gaue

Anonym. in Leon. Michael in vit. Theod. ſtud. Theoſter. in Nicet. ap Sur. 3 April.

him the ſirname of *Yſilas*, which ſignifies, the Deuils precurſor, or Coadiutor. *Theodote* foold him vvith hopes of being one day Patriark, and preſented him to the Emperor, to vvhom Iohn undertook to diuide the Catholiks, and diſpoſe them to acknowledge firſt his ſpiritual ſupremacy, and afterwards to embrace the other points of the Iconoclaſts Religion: prouided his Maieſty vvould banish *Nicephorus* the Patriark of Conſtantinople, and *Theodore ſtuditus*, and ſom others vvho vvould render his endeuors uneffectual, if permitted to liue in the Countrey.

This Precurſor or Coadiutor of the Deuil went immediatly about his buiſneſs, and drew to his principles and party one *Cazimate*, an indigent drunken lying Biſhop, and a monk calld *Antony*, vvho had taken the monaſtical habit to free himſelf from the punishment vvherwith he vvas threatned for his crimes. Theſe three ſolicited all people to ſubſcribe an inſtrument of their own deuiſing, aſſuring that ſuch as refuſed, vvould be punished, and ſuch as put their hands to it, should be rewarded and truſted. It containd a tacit renuntiation of the Popes ſpiritual ſupremacy, and a *uirtual* acknowledgment of

the Emperors. Many ſubſcribed to it, and many vvho did not, ſaw their hands counterfeited, and ſet to it. But there being no law, nor any legal commiſſion to preſs men to ſubſcribe this inſtrument of Iohns contriuing, it vvas ſlighted, and himſelf in danger of being thought uſeleſs by *Theodote*; but his villany ſuggeſted ſo great variety of other proiects to that Miniſter of ſtate, that he thought fit to continue and countenance him in his employment.

Iohn obſeruing that Theodote cared not ſo much for him as himſelf had giuen out amongſt his friends and foes, to fright theſe, and confirm the others in the opinion they had of his intereſt vvith the Emperors Fauorit, deſired Antony the Monk to ſpeake to his Maieſty of Religion, and to humor him therin, ſeeming to be of his ſenſe in all things; otherwiſe they both and all their faction vvould be diſgrac't: As ſoon as Antony vvas preſented to the Emperor, his Maieſty askt him vvhat ought men to belieue concerning the worship of Images? The Monk anſwerd, he did not ſee any thing in Scripture that fauored it, but that ſom people ſayd it was the ancient practiſe and tradition of the Church. The Emperor replyed, And I

declare to you, that if it be not cleerly commanded in the Ghoſpell, I will not ſuffer either Chriſts, or my own Image to be worshipt; Anthony ſayd, his Majeſty had much reaſon, and that all he ſpoke was truth. This pleaſed uery much Iohn *Yſilas* the Deuils Coadiutor; who deſired his Patron *Theodote* to moue, that this point might be diſputed of in preſence of the Emperor, vvhoſe opinion he and Anthony vvould maintain gainſt the Patriark and all vvho vvould ſide vvith him.

Theodote likt vvell of this aduice, and perſuaded the Emperor to ſound firſt the Patriark in priuat; this vvas don, but finding him conſtant in the Catholik Faith, he commanded him and all the other Bishops and Abbots then in Conſtantinople, to giue their attendance in the Pallace; vvhen they came thither, they ſaw Iohn *Yſilas*, and Anthony the Monk vvith ſom Iconoclaſts ready to diſpute with them concerning the worship of Images, the Emperor telling the Patriark the Catholiks were ſummon'd for that purpoſe, and that himſelf vvould be Vmpire. The Patriark anſwerd, that matters of Religion ought not be diſcuſſed in ſecular Courts, but in general Councells; that the lawfulneſs

of worshiping Images had bin defined a point of Faith in the laſt œcumenical of Nice, and none but heretiks could call in queſtion ſuch a definition. That in caſe it vvere lawfull to queſtion it, he admired to ſee ſuch pittifull ignorant fellows as Iohn and Anthony fixt upon to diſcourſe of ſublime myſteries. That it vvas an argument of his Maieſties being already peruerted, to liſten to ſuch Doctors, and offer himſelf to iudge of controuerſies of Faith, he being but a lay perſon. All the Catholik Bishops and Abots declared the Patriark had ſpoke their ſenſe; and all joynd in ſupplicating, his Majeſty vvould be pleaſed not to alter the ancient belief and practiſe of Chriſtendom, after that it had bin ſo lately and ſo diligently examined in the œcumenical Councell of Nice, by the repreſentatiue of the Vniuerſal Church.

Iohn *Yſilas* ſeing himſelf ſlighted by the Patriark and the other Prelats, ſwore moſt bloudy Oathes he vvould be reuenged of them. To diffame the Patriark he publisht an infamous libel againſt him, vvherin after railing moſt intemperatly, calling him a Traytor, and heretik, an ignorant Logician, a libeller, &c. he under took to proue œcumenical Councells were not

infallible in matters of doctrin. Two things put him into this passion against the Patriark. 1. That Prelat had not so good an opinion of Iohns learning as himself seemd to haue, and vvould needs persuade the world. 2. He thought if the Patriark were dead or banisht, himself would be Patriark. These were his Motiues to vvrite that libel in form of an Epistle to Anthony the Monk, and direct it to him iust as saint *Paul* did his to *Timothy*, or *Titus*. He pretends therin to proue the Patriark an heretik, becaus he sayd it vvas heresy to deny or doubt of the infallibility (in matters of Faith) of an œcumenical Councel approued of by the Pope. Nothing uexed him so much as that Prelats pittying his ignorance and laughing at his libel, and the vvorlds iudging it deserued no better answer, the Authors malice and stupidity hauing bin sufficiently manifested by the work itself. It vvas no less a trouble to him, that (his language being so barbarous, and his stile so unpolisht) they who copied this and other bookes of his, and thought to gain much by their sale, were quite broken, for that none would buy or peruse such pittifull stuff, which Iohn Ysilas had stole from

Iconoclaſt Authors; and endeuoring to diſguiſe it with a dash now and then of his own, he ſpoiled the poor ſtationers market, and ſo mingled and mangled all matters and myſteries he treated of, that euen himſelf (if he had as much ſenſe as others) would haue bin as ſoon weary of reading his own bookes, and would haue turnd them to the ſame uſe they did; the ordinary fate of dirty ſcribling, and foulmouthed Anthors.

Notwithſtanding Iohns ignorance and impertinency, the Emperor, after hauing commanded the Catholik Clergy not to write, ſpeake, or meet concerning matters of Religion; and banished the Patriark for not obeying this Order, (though at firſt he obeyd it;) propoſed that Sycophant to be Patriark in exiled *Nicephorus* his place. But the Iconoclaſts telling his Majeſty, that ſuch a Rogues preferment would much diſcredit their Church, he was layd aſide; and *Theodote*, though more uerſed in ſtate than Eccleſiaſtical affairs, vvas named Patriark, as a man of great birth, and prudence, though vicious and not learned; but uery zealous againſt the worship of Images, becauſe he underſtood not the difference between them and *Idols*. This

choice anſwerd their expectation, his human reaſons, and fair promiſes, (which he alwayes perform'd) wrought more upon the Catholik Bishops, than the Patriark Nicephorus his words and tears, and their engagement to him of perſeuering in the true Faith, when he parted with them. They accepted of *Theodote* for their Patriark, and with him in the Church of St *Sophia*, condemn'd the laſt Councel of Nice, declaring that Images were Idols, and their worship, Idolatry. Wherupon the Images were immediatly taken from the places wherunto they had bin reſtored by *Irene* the Empreſs, and burnt in the Market place. Such as oppoſed this fury, vvere tormented and banished; amongſt others Theophilacte Bishop of Nicomedia, Theophilus of Epheſus, Peter of Nice, Ioſeph of Theſſalonica, Coſme of Calcedon; beſides many Abots, as Nicetas a Kinſman of the Empreſs Irene, vvho after hauing gouerned Sicily, made himſelf a Monk; *Teophanes*, one of thoſe vvho vvrit this Hiſtory, and dyed in his exile in the Iſland of *Samothracia*. But none vvas more cruely dealt vvith than that moſt holy and learned man, *Theodore* Abot of *ſtudius* called *Studitus*.

This *Theodore* ſeing how pittifully moſt part of the Bishops had behaued themſelues, commanded the Monks of his Monaſtery to go in proceſſion about their Church, euery one of them vvith the Image of Chriſt, our Lady, or ſom Saint in their hands, ſinging hymns and pſalmes; and this euery day when the perſecution was at the height. Beſides, when the Emperor perceiued the common people murmured at the ſeuerity of his perſecution, to ſatisfy them, he recalled ſom Abots from their exile; and tould them he would not further trouble them for Religion, prouided they were content with a priuat exerciſe therof, and with worshiping Images within the precincts of their Monaſteries, and that they would (at leaſt once) communicat with Theodote the Iconoclaſt Patriark, to auoyd schiſm and ſcandal: ſom of theſe good men, who were not learned, conformed to the Emperors will, which Theodore hearing, he writ againſt their compliance as if it were a Kind of Apoſtaſy, wherof moſt of them repented, and renounc't the Iconoclaſts communion.

This ſo incenſed the Emperor, that he commanded *Theodore* (who had bin long before banisht) to be put into a dungeon under

under ground, and there conſtantly whipt. But his Goaler ſeeing him conſumed to nothing, would not be ſo cruel. His compaſſion being knowen, an other ſo tore the Saints flesh with ſtripes, that he left him for dead, tumbling in his own bloud. From thence they carried him to an other priſon where *Nicholæs*, one of his Diſciples, was Kept, and gaue each of them once in two dayes ſo ſmale a quantity of bread, that it could hardly Keep one of them aliue. Theodore (acording to the ancient cuſtom of the Catholik Church) carried about him ſom particles of the holy Euchariſt in a litle box, to the end he might receiue the body of Chriſt in the priſon, as Ermits did in the Deſerts, where there were neither Prieſts, nor Churches, and much leſs wine, to receiue the communion in both Kinds. With theſe ſmale particles of the Euchariſt he fed his ſoul, and it ſupplied alſo the want of corporal food, becauſe he gaue alwayes his bit of bread to his Diſciple. This was admired at as a Miracle in that age, becauſe all Chriſtians then (euen the Iconoclaſts) belieued, there was not any ſubſtance of bread or wine in the conſecrated hoaſt and chalice. For my part, I do not at all admire, that the

Menol. Grec. 27. Mart. D. 18. April.

bleſſed Sacrament ſhould ſupply the ſubſtance of bread or wine, though neither remain after the words of conſecration; for, ſeing God would haue us merit by beleeuing them (when he ſayd, *This is my body*) and contradict our ſenſes, which ſeem to euidence the contrary, he would ſpoyl that deſign, and diminish both our Faith and merit, if men did dye ſtarued, notwithſtanding their eating as much conſecrated bread as might keep them aliue, if it were not tranſubſtantiated; for then euery one might demonſtrat by undeniable experience the Miracle, and Myſtery of Tranſubſtantiation. Therfore who ſoeuer beleeues the myſtery muſt ceaſe to admire the Miracle, unleſs he can perſuade himſelf, that Chriſt conceals his body from our ſight and contradicts all our other ſenſes, and yet leaues it in euery mans power to find out the truth of this myſtery he intended to conceal.

A greater Miracle of *Theodore* was, that hauing writ many letters to the Catholiks in general, and to diuers in particular, exhorting them to continue conſtant in their Image worſhip, one of his letters being caſt into the deuouring flames of a terrible fire that was burning the Houſe of a deuout

Mich. ſtud in vit Theodor.

Widow, it was ſudenly extinguished, notwithſtanding that all other meanes and the water her Neighbors continualy powrd upon it, proued uneffectual.

This vvill ſeem a fiction to ſuch as are ſcandalized at the Catholik vvorship of Images, as alſo that other Miracle recounted by the ſame Authors, of reſtoring by his prayers to perfect health *Bardas* the Emperors Coſin, and General of the Eaſtern Army, vvhen he lay a dying, and promiſed to worship the Images of Saints for the future, Theodore telling him, it was upon that condition God did him the fauor he ſo erneſtly begd. But the Iconoclaſt Bishop of *Smirna* (where the miracle was wrought) perſuading him to return again to his former profeſſion, and giuing him a viol of oyle vvhich he had bleſſed, aſſuring him vvithall it vvould preſerue his health, *Bardas* anointing himſelf therwith, fell immediatly ſick, and dyed, notwithſtanding his too late inſtances to Theodore for a ſecond recouery.

That theſe Miracles haue bin recorded 800 years ago in the Archiues and Annals of the Catholik Church, is euident to all vvho read them. That they vvere not contradicted as to the matter of fact by the *Baro. an. ab an. 720.*

Iconoclaſts themſelues, nor any fraud diſcouered therin, is alſo certain. That none forc't them to a ſilence or ſecrecy ſo preiudicial to their cauſe, is alſo undeniable. How then com our Miracles to be obiected againſt the aduers party, and no anſwer returned, or recorded, is a Riddle not yet ſolued by any vvho pretend to turn them into *ridicule*.

That the Iconoclaſts ſilence as to theſe Miracles, was not ſtupidity, or want of vvit or vvill to diſcredit them, is cleer by their auſwers to, and obiections againſt that Catholik doctrin, which they ſaw confirmed by the Miracles, and the conſtancy of our Martyrs. To this laſt indeed they ſayd our glory vvould be only imaginary, the cauſe vve ſufferd for, being only Imagery; and that from the Image of Chriſt, and not from himſelf, vve vvere to expect a reward.

Againſt this St Theodore writ a ſolid Treatiſe, vvherin he proued that they vvho ſuffered for vvorshiping Chriſts Image, ſuffered for vvorshiping himſelf; becauſe our adoration or reſpect is not *terminated* in the Image, but in its Prototyp. That vvhen vve loue and relieue our Neighbors as Images of God, or brethren of

Christ, we are rewarded by God, not by them, because it is for his sake we honor, loue, and relieue his seruants, as his Images, and Christs brethren. That it is our intention vvhich directs our outward vvorship, and therfore may driue it beyond the picture or statue as far and vvith as litle difficulty, as vve may raise our thoughts to God, Christ, his Morther, and the Saints. That vve Kneel and bow to the King iust as vve do to God, if vve look only upon the exterior action; and yet one is religious, the other but ciuil vvorship. That it is our inward application and intention vvhich makes our Kneeling or bowing to God, religious vvorship; to the King but ciuil. So that the same outward action may be diuided into many distinct vvorships, and to many degrees of the same vvorship, vvhether religious or ciuil; vvhich degrees of supreme, higher, and lower vve somtimes expres by Kneeling to the King, by makinga uery lovv bovv to the Grandees; and les to others not so eminent. All this acording to their qualities, either ciuil, eccleſiastical, or religious, acording as that external action is order'd by the inward intention of the mind. That as the motion of our body and actions

depends of our ſoul and vvill: ſo doth the kind of vvorship vve intend by them, as alſo their merit and demerit, their being ciuil or religious, ſupreme or inferior vvorships. Laſtly that there is no more danger of idolatry in vvorshiping Images, than there is in us of not knovving our ovvn intention, or than in vvorshiping our King; but much leſs; becauſe vve are apter to flatter our Kings vvith Diuine or religious vvorship (as the Pagans did their Heros) for the dependency vve haue of them, than to flatter Images vvhich are inanimat things. Though the Miracles and writings of Theodore did confirm the Catholiks in their Faith, and comfort them in their afflictions, yet the Emperor continued the perſecution with great violence until his death, which happend thus.

The Emperors greateſt Fauorit was one *Michael Balbus*, who hauing bin uery inſtrumental in helping him to aſcend the Imperial throne, was acordingly preferd and truſted. This man ſeing his Maſter generaly hated as a Perſecutor of tender conſciences, and ſom Impoſtor telling him alſo, he ſhould be Emperor, conſpired with others, (to whom he promiſed great matters) to accelerat the acomplishment

Cedren. Zonar.

of the profecy by his own induſtry, and endeuors of killing his Lord and benefactor. Being a debauch't man, he let fall ſom words, when he was drunk, of his deſign: wherupon examined and tortured, he confeſſed the truth; and iudgment paſſed upon him to be burnt aliue in the fornace of the Imperial Baths within the Palace. As he was carried to the place of execution on Chriſtmaſs Eue, the Empreſs *Theodoſia*, ſeing that ſad ſpectacle, begd of her husband, ſo holy a time might not be profan'd with ſo horrid a Kind of death, but that it might be diferrd untill after the holy dayes. The Emperor with much difficulty granted her requeſt, but was in great trouble and diſorder after that he had reflected upon the book of dumb profe- *Zonar.*
cies, which was Kept in the pub'ik library, where it was enigmaticaly expreſſed, (or at leaſt ſo interpreted by thoſe who peruſed the book) that an Emperor called *Leo* should be Killd by his Enemy on Chriſtmaſs day. An old dreame alſo of his Mother diſturbed him, which untill then he laught at. She imagined that in our Ladyes Church of the Blaquernes a Lady attended by many ſeruants clad in white, bid her drink a cup of bloud (wherof the Church

was full.) the Emperors Mother, refuſing and abhorring the potion, the Lady ſayd, *Howv then comes your ſon to thirſt ſo much after the blond of my ſon, and of his ſervants?* This dream or Viſion made ſo great an impreſſion upon the old woman, that ſhe dayly importun'd her ſon to giue ouer the perſecution, and turn Catholik; but neuer untill then, made it any upon him.

Cedren. Zanar. Theſe ſad thoughts together with a dream of his own, wherin he fancied that the holy Patriark *Tarafius* appeard and approacht to him, with a terrible countenance, crying aloud, *Michael, Kill the Emperor*, made him watch his priſoner ſo narowly, that he left his bed, and went ſtreight to the chamber where his priſoner was chaind and garded by the *Papias*, or chief Porter of the Pallace. His melancholy and fear raiſed a ſuſpition in him the Papias plotted Michaels eſcape; one of the ſouldiors that watcht, ouer heard him mutter this, and threaten the *Papias*; whom the ſoldior acquainted with the danger he was in. *Michael* bid him not feare, he undertook to ſaue and reward him, if he would but ſend that ſoldior with a letter to one in Town. This was don under pretence of calling a Confeſſor

to *Michael*, for which he had leaue. The letter was to the chief of the Conſpirators. It containd a threat and Oath to him and his Camerades, that Michel would accuſe them of being joynd with himſelf in the ploe (vvhich as yet he had not don) if they did not Kill the Emperor that very morning of Chriſtmaſs day, they being ſure to find him at his deuotions in the Church. This ſo frighted the Conſpirators, that they reſolued to dy rather in attempting vvhat might be ſucceſsfull, than leaue themſelues to the mercy of one that deſpaird of any for himſelf, and vvould be reuenged of them if they did not deliuer him. Therfore they diſguiſed and arm'd themſelues with ſvvords, poinards, and litle hatchets, hid under their long Veſts: thus pretending great deuotion, they vvent early to the Chappell, vvhere the Emperor ſate between them vvho ſung the Matins, ſinging alſo his part, and taking great delight in his own uoice, though it ſeemd uery harſh and diſagreable to all others. The ſeaſon being cold, the Emperor vvore a furr cap, as ſom of the Clergy did: The ſign giuen, the Murtherers ruſht in among the Singers, and miſtaking the chief of them (by reaſon of his cap) for the Emperor, he threw it

off, and eſcap't death by ſhewing his bald pate. Leo ran to the Altar, when he ſaw his ſervants ran away, and taking from thence the Croſs in one hand, and the chain of a *Thuribulum* in the other, he defended himſelf with great reſolution, untill at length hauing receiued many thruſts and wounds, he fainted for want of bloud, not of courage; and ſo fell down dead. A man of good parts, and uery fit to command as a ſoueraign, but that he vvould needs gouern the ſouls of his ſubiects. His body vvas dragd through the ſtreets and his Competitor Michael Balbus carried from his priſon to the Throne in great triumph, though loaden vvith chains and bolts. So ſuddain are the changes of this vvorld, ſo unexpected the chances of fortune.

MICHAEL BALBVS.

He vvas Aprentice to a Ievv, and hauing bin bred vvith him and amongſt Herctiks, his Religion vvas a mixture of ſtrange hereſies. He made his Predeceſſors children Eunukes; vvherof one called Baſile *recouered his ſpeech by praying at the ſtatue of ſaint Gregory Nazianzen. He vvas moderat during the povver of Thomas his Enemy, but after his defeat and death, he perſecuted the Catholiks moſt cruelly. But ſeing this did not take, he flatered the Pope, and Ludovvik Emperor of the VVeſt, telling them he vvas not againſt Images as helps to deuotion, but as they vvere miſapplyed to be the obiect of vvorship. St Theodorus ſtuditus and an Anonimus Treatiſes vvrit againſt this fraud. vvhom he perſecuted moſt violently, and after marrying a Nun, and looſing Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia, dyed moſt miſerably.*

HE was born in *Amorium* of Phrygia, of parents ſo poor, that they were

forc't to bind him Aprentice to a Iew, who employd him only in Keeping ducks and poultry. His natiue ſoil being full of Samarits, Manichees, Pauliciens and other heretiks, his Religion was a mixture of their errors not connected by any iudicious choice, or chain of conſequence, but pickt up as they pleaſed his fancy, and humored his peruerſe and brutal inclinations. He denyed the Reſurrection of the dead, belieued fornication was not a ſin, ſayd there were no Deuils, that Iudas was a great Saint, that the Prophets were fools or Impoſtors. He was an Iconoclaſt in the point of Images, and ſo ignorant, that he could ſcarce write his name; therfore ſo auers to learning, that he prohibited publik ſchools for the education of children. He was a bold undertaking man, and applying himſelf to the war, pouſſed his fortune by courage and good ſucceſs in executing what he was commanded.

Zonarus. Curopal.

The firſt thing he did after being Emperor, was, to banish and confine to a Monaſtery of Nuns his Predeceſſors wife, and make his four ſons Eunukes, wherof one dyed in that torment, an other called *Baſile* loſt his ſpeech: and being banished to an Iſland wherin a ſtatue of St Gregory

Nazianzen was worshipt with great deuotion by the Christian Natiues, Baſile imitating their example, prayed mentaly and heartily before it to the Saint, and recouering his ſpeech by St Gregories interceſſion, embrac't the Catholik Religion, as the Empreſs, his Mother alſo did. To both of them St Theodore Studitus, writ a congratulary epiſtle, confirming them in that Faith which they had profeſſed upon ſo rational and conuincing grounds as a Miracle, wrought upon ſo knowen a perſon, in the face of the world, authenticated by thouſands of witneſſes, and not contradicted by the Iconoclaſts, who then were Maſters of the Empire, and might not only diſcouer the cheat, but punish the Impoſtors, if this Miracle had not bin undeniable. At leaſt, if it were falſe, nothing but a miracle could ſuſpend the pens of ſo many Iconoclaſt Writers, from publishing an anſwer to ſaint Theodores letter, in ſom of their works yet extant, his perſon being ſo odious to them, and a fair occaſion offerd to diſcredit both it and his profeſſion. *Theodor. Studitus lib. 2. ep. 204.*

Notwithſtanding the Emperors auerſion to Catholiks and their Images, Theodote the Patriark (who gaind his fauor by crou- *Cedren:*

ning him after *Leo* had bin maſſacred in the Church) perſuaded him to be moderat, becauſe one *Thomas*, who had bin formerly a ſervant to a Senator of Conſtantinople, and running away for having bin too familiar with his Maſters wife, rebeld with the Army he commanded, and beſieged the Imperial Citty. It was no time then to ſet marks of diſtinction, and diſcountenance ſubiects upon the ſcore of Religion, leaſt, being exaſperated, they might ſide with the Rebell. Therfore the Emperor recalled from exile all ſuch Biſhops and Abbots as had bin banished by his Predeceſſor, the Patriark *Nicephorus* only excepted, for Theodotes ſake. And deſired them to meet with the Iconoclaſts, to debate and agree upon points of Religion, to the end there might be no diviſions in the ſtate. The Catholiks humbly repreſented that it was contrary to Scripture and the Canons of the Church, to treat with heretiks otherwiſe than in order to their converſion, and untill they ſubmitted, and repented of their errors. But that if his Majeſty doubted of any point of Faith, he might ſend for a Declaration and reſolution *therof to old Rome, according to the ancient cuſtom and tradition of their*

Mich. ſtudit. in not. Theodor. an. 811.

Predeceſſors, becauſe that vvas the ſupreme Church of God in vvhich St Peter preſided, to vvhom Chriſt ſayd, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I vvill build my Church, &c. This they gaue to the Emperor in writing, begging alſo he would be pleaſed to reſtore the vvorship of Images, vvhich he (to auoyd greater inconueniencies in the beginning of his reign, and a troubleſom time) granted, upon condition no Images, ſhould be ſet up in Conſtantinople. S. Theod. Studit. l. 2. ep. 86.

But after that the Emperor (by the Bulgarian Kings forces) had ouercom, and put to death *Thomas* the Rebel, he took other reſolutions, vvherof the chief was, to imitat *Copronimus* his cruelty againſt the Catholiks; he recalld his former fauors to them; baniſht again the Bishops and Monks, and commanded his ſon Theophilus (vvhom he aſſumed to be his Collegue in the Empire) to ſee *Euthymius* the holy Bishop of *Sardis*, cudgeld to death.

But obſerving that this perſecution did not work that uniformity of Faith, which he deſign'd, and vvherby he hop't to enjoy peace vvithin the Empire, ſo neceſſary for its defence and his own preſeruation, he endeuored to effect it by misinforming the Pope and *Ludouik* Emperor of the

Weſt, ſending Ambaſſadors to aſſure them, that his quarell was not againſt the right uſe but againſt the abuſe of Images; and therfore for the peace of Chriſtendom was content to permit them (as an indifferent matter, like the communion in both or one Kind) prouided they were ſet up as helps to mind us of Chriſt and his Saints, but not as obiects of vvorship. That this was the Catholik practiſe of the ancient Church. That the other was at leaſt dangerous, and might eaſily degenerat into idolatry. He deſired the Pope not to belieue the reports which the Greek Monks had ſpread of him, and ſolicited *Ludovvik* to conſult ſom learned Prieſts of his Kingdom of France, whether the uſe of Images ought not to be permitted only for the help of our memory, without any relation to worship or adoration? To the Pope he ſent a Chalice and *Paten* of gold adorned with pretious ſtones, and the new Theſtament richly bound up, all to be offered at the Prince of the Apoſtles Shrine. To *Ludouik* he ſent the works of St *Denis*, which were tranſlated from Greek into Latin by *Hilduin* the Abbot of St Denis. *Theodote* aduiſed him to this manner of proceeding, by which he doubted

doubted not but that all the blame of perſecuting Catholiks would be layd at the Popes door, who might at ſo eaſy a rate purchaſe the peace of the Church, as his commanding Images not to be worshipt.

This gaue occaſion of writing diuers Treatiſes concerning the meanes of reſtoring and preſeruing the peace of the Church. One was writ by St *Theodore Studitus* by way of an epiſtle to *Leo Sacellarius*, (lib. 2. ep. 129.) wherin he ſets for the ground of the deſired peace and unity, that the layty muſt not medle with Church affairs, nor pretend to any eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; *That all diſputes of Religion ought to be remitted to the Biſhop of Rome, from vvhom the certainty of Faith is to be taken, his authority confirming that alſo of œcumenical Councels.* That God entruſted not Emperors or Preſidents with any thing more in the Church, than to help the Prelats, and protect the doctrin therof. An Anonimus in an other Treatiſe diſcourſed more particularly againſt the Emperors reaſons and deſign, ſaying, That the worship of Chriſts Images and thoſe of his Saints (as his ſeruants) is a thing no more indifferent than the worship exhibited to men as they are Gods Images, or to Soue-

raigns as they repreſent his abſolute Dominion ouer all Creatures. That this worſhip is grounded upon the law of nature, and the moſt euident principles of reaſon. and not only upon the practiſe and tradition of the Church, which confirms and commands many other things of the law of nature as well as this, wherin it can not diſpenſe, viz. the precepts of the Decalogue, honouring our Princes and Parents, &c. That perhaps a King, or any of us, may diſpenſe with people not to worſhip, or euen to contemn our images, as well as diſpenſe to do the ſame with our perſons; but neither we, nor the Church nor Chriſt himſelf can diſpenſe with Chriſtians to contemn and conculcat his own and his Saints Images (as relating to them) becauſe therby they would conſent and concurr to contemn God and his Saints as they are his ſeruants; vvherfore though it were granted a King might make it treaſon to honor his Image, and declare it loyalty to caſt dirt upon it, (vvhich no vviſe King vvill do; nor vviſe man aduiſe, for fear of miſtakes, and of diſpoſing his ſubiects to contemn the *Prototyp.*) Yet its a folly to think God did forbid in the Decalogue, or make it idolatry, to wor-

ship the Images of Chriſt, or his Saints; not only becauſe Images, as ſuch, can not be Idols; but alſo becauſe God can not prohibit us to honor himſelf, and euen as when we vvorship Chriſt as his ſon, and Saints as his ſeruants, vve honor himſelf; ſo likewiſe vvhen vve adore the ſecond perſon of the Trinity as the Image of the Father, and vvorship men as the Images of God, vve honor God by that worship of his Images. Therfore this can not be made idolatry, unleſs you vvill ſay that Chriſt and the Saints as they are Images of God, are Idols. That indeed the Communion of the Layty under one or both kinds, vvas a matter of indifferency, becauſe as much vvas receiued under one as under both, if vve ſpeak of the reality of Chriſts body and bloud as it is a Sacrament. But as it is a ſacrifice repreſenting that of the Croſs, and the effuſion or ſeparation of his ſacred bloud from his body, that being the proper office of Prieſts, they only muſt offer the unbloudy ſacrifice, and conſume as vvell as conſecrat both kinds (to ſignify the ſeparation of Chriſts bloud from his body) vvhen they act as Prieſts, or ſay Maſs. If they communicat vvithout ſaying Maſs, they may

and do receiue under one only kind, like the Layty. This and much more vvas ſayd to confute the Emperors reaſons.

What the ſucceſs vvas of his Embaſſy to the Pope and the Emperor of the Weſt, is not found in Hiſtory, therfore 'tis belieued it vvas ſlighted as impertinent; though it be certain Ludouik deſired leaue of the then Pope (Eugenius 2.) to aſſemble ſom learned men in France, vvho might gather the ſenſe and ſentences of the Fathers concerning the vvorship of Images, and that the Pope condeſcended therunto. What they did upon this ſubiect, vvas neuer heard of untill aboue 700. years after (in the yeare 1596.) a Lutheran vvithout a name, and vvithout citing any Author for vvhat he ſayes, tells us in a book printed at Frankford, that the aſſembled French Prieſts were of Michael Balbus his opinion concerning Image vvorship. Perhaps this might be, there being ſom in France at that time noted for nouelties in Religion; and others who in the Councel of Frankford underſtood no more vvhat the Greeks meant by *adoration* of Images, than the Councel of *Arimini* did underſtand vvhat they meant by *homouſion*. The Fathers of Frankford belieued the Greeks

meant by *adoration*, that ſupreme vvorship due only to God, and called *Latria*; but they underſtood by *adoration*, an inferior religious reſpect, giuen to Angels, and Prophets, according to the phraſe of the Scripture, vvhich tells us how the Patriarks *adored* or vvorshipt Angels appearing to them; and the afflicted Widow *adored* Eliſeus the Prophet.

Michael Balbus adding iniquity to iniquity, took out of the cloyſter a Nun called *Euphroſina*, daughter to Conſtantin the Emperor, and liued vvith her as his vvife. Euphemius a Captain in Sicily thought he might imitat his Soueraigns example, taking by force an other Nun out of her Conuent. The Emperor hauing iſſued Orders to punish that crime in another to vvhich himſelf had enconraged him by his example, Euphemius fled to Afrik, and from thence brought the Saracens into Sicily, which they Kept, as alſo *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and other places annexed untill then to the Eſtern Empire. Soon after followed the reuolt of *Dalmatia* from the ſame Emperor. All vvhich vvas interpreted a punishment of God for his perſecution, and the banishment of ſuch holy men as Theodore

ſtuditus, and Nicephorus the Patriark, who dyed in their exile. Their bodies were after many years found incorrupt and entire: both tranſlated to Conſtantinople, and receiued with great deuotion by all the people, the Emperors themſelues (Michael 3. and his Mother) honouring them with carrying a torch in their hands after the corps. Not long after dyed alſo *Michael Balbus* of a diſintery loaden with the maledictions of all mankind in the 9. year of his reign, to whom ſucceded his ſon

Teophan. Presbiter in Orat. ad pop. de laud. Niceph.

TEOPHILVS.

He vvas an humerſom heretik. Permitted no Saints or men to be painted, but vvas content birds Beaſts, and Fiſhes ſhould. He prayed to our Lady, faſted her Vigils, and Kept her dayes holy, and yet could not endure her picture. He vvas a great perſecutor of Catholiks. He gained ſom credit by putting to death thoſe vvho made his Father Emperor by murthering Leo the Armenian. His extrauagant humor in the choice of his vvife, vvho vvas a conceald Catholik, and in great danger by the tale of a Fool concerning Images. Theophilus his Inſtructor vvas a Conjurer, vvho often ſacrificed to the Deuils in the Emperors preſence: vvho named him Patriark vvhen Theodote dyed: After that he had moſt babarouſly treated Methodius and others, he dyed vvith Theophobus (vvhon he had commanded to be maßacred) his head in his hand.

THis man was as humerſom in his Religion as in other things. He hated the Images of Saints, nay of any men, to

Curopal. that degree, as to prohibit the painting any pictures, or making any ſtatues to adorn houſes or ſepulchres. And yet he was content fiſhes, beaſts, and birds should be painted. He shewed great ueneration for our Lady, by praying to her in her Churches, building ſom to her honor, Keeping her feaſtes and faſtes with much deuotion: and yet by no meanes vvould he permit her picture to be ſet up. It ſeemed odd to the wiſeſt of that age, (as perhaps it doth to thoſe of ours) that a man should think it lawfull to worship our Lady, the Apoſtles, and other Saints, by faſting their vigils, building and frequenting their Churches, by ceaſing from all ſeruile works upon their dayes (as we do on the Lords day) and yet ſcruple to worship them in their Images; this not hauing ſo cleer a connexion with religious worship, as that of Keeping holy dayes, faſting their Eues, and building Churches to their memories. For, one may pretend to eſteem a Saints Image upon a ciuil account of his hauing bin a renownd perſon, or for the excellency of the picture and painter; but by Keeping our Lady, and the Apoſtles holy dayes, faſting their vigils, and building or frequenting their Churches, no-

thing can be underſtood but a religious worship of the Saints. And if this faſt be lawfull, few can underſtand why that of Images is not.

His cruelty was no leſs admired at, than his incoherency. He commanded all Catholiks who would not renounce worship of Images, to be impriſoned, nay hee banished, and often Killd them. And to the end none might eſcape punishment, he charged his officers to examin euery ones religion, when he payd the tribute of pole money. The poor painters had an ill tyme of it; but none of them was ſo much tormented as *Lazarus* a Monk, who ſpent his tyme in copying Saints pictures. And after impriſonments and other afflictions, hauing his hands burnt with fiery plates of braſs, he was whipt ſo unmercifully, that they left him for dead. The Catholiks hid the ſeeming dead man in St Iohn Baptiſts Church, where after recouering ſom ſtrength, he fell again to his old trade, and then perfected that excellent piece of Chriſts Precurſor, which afterwards wrought ſo many Miracles. This holy Monk outliued Teophilus, and ſpent his dayes in painting the Saints images as the Emperor had don in breaking and burning them. He

gaind credit in the beginning of his reign by putting to death thoſe who murthered Leo the Armenian, and made his own father Emperor; but moſt think he did that act of iuſtice for fear ſuch deſperat men might uſe himſelf as they did Leo; and indeed a Prince can hardly be ſafe among ſeruants that are ready to obey ſuch bloudy commands as the maſſacring an other Soueraign, or euen their fellow ſubiects.

The extrauagancy of Theophilus his humor was obſerued in his choice of a wife. He commanded the greateſt beauties in and about Conſtantinople, as alſo of other Prouinces, to be placed in the faireſt room of his Pallace, called the *Pearl*: whither he came with a golden apple in his hand, to giue to the faireſt: and finding it was a Lady of quality called *Icaſia*, to try whether she vvas as vvitty as beautifull, began his diſcourſe vvith theſe vvords, Madam, *It muſt be granted that vvomen are moſt dangerous Creatures, ſeing it is by one of them vve haue bin ruind.* *Icaſia* thinking she ought to ſay ſomthing, replied vvith a modeſt blush, Its *True ſir, but is it not by a vvoman alſo vve haue receiued the greateſt good?* This innocent anſwer changed his loue into hatred, and without more adoo turns

Leo Gram. Zonar.

to an other called *Theodora*, with whom he vvas taken at the firſt ſight, and preſented her with the golden apple and the Empire, vvithout ſpeaking a vvord; She vvas dauther to *Maim* and *Theoctiſta*, noble perſons of Paphlagonia, and Catholiks. He neuer examind *Theodoras* Religion, which she conceald, but did not diſſemble, or do any thing that might ſeem to be a profeſſion of the Iconoclaſts: Once she was in great danger of being diſcouered by meanes of a domeſtik fool call'd *Dandery*, who told the Emperor that he had ſeen in the Empreſs Cloſet, many prety Babyes. The Emperor Knowing his fool did not feign the ſtory, ſuſpected he meant Images; and his wife ſuſpecting the fool vvould tell truth, hid them before her husband had time to com thither; he entred the Cloſet, and raild at her in a great paſſion, calling her Idolater, ungratefull, &c. and then let her know the fools relation to him. She counterfeited a harty laugh, and told *Theophilus* for a uery good jeſt, how *Dandery* ſeeing her, and her Dreſſers buily about her at the looking glaſs, hee miſtook their reflexions or *ſpecies*, for Babyes within or behind the glaſs; the Emperor Knowing Dandery was capable of ſuch a

miſtake, believed his wifes ſtory; and ſo she eſcap't that of a fool, which is the moſt dangerous of any, as carrying ſincerity along with it.

But 'tis ſtrange the Deuils (with whom he frequently conuerſed) did not giue him a more certain information. One *Iohn*, an ambitious Monk, had bin in great fauor with *Michael Balbus*, who truſted him with his ſon Theophilus his education. This Monk was a Coniurer, and hauing bin promtoed to a rich benefice, built a fair Pallace neer Conſtantinople, in the cellars wherof he ſacrificed to the Deuils, and exerciſed his black art, which was the chief ſcience he taught his Diſciple Theophilus, who being more curious to Know the uncertain euents than the true cauſes of things, went often to his Maſters exerciſes and exorciſmes, where he met hanſom women bewitcht and ſeduced by that Conjurer. This man he named Patriark of Conſtantinople in the room of Anthony who ſucceeded Theodote, both dead; by this man was Theophilus directed in all his affairs, and particularly in perſecuting the Catholiks, with more continual cruelty (for he neuer interrupted it) than any of his Predeceſſors.

Cedren.

Curopal.

That which moſt troubled all Chriſtendom, was his barbarous uſage of *Methodius*, the Ornament and Oracle of that age. This man was chief of the Clergy in Conſtantinople under the Patriark, and ſo learned, that he was conſulted from moſt parts of the Empire in matters of Theology and Philoſophy. Theophilus himſelf had a great veneration for his perſon and parts, though he hated his profeſſion, and zeal in maintaining the worship of Images. Going to the field againſt the Saracens, he would needs haue *Methodius* along with him, under a pretence of reſoluing his doubts in curious queſtions, but in truth for fear his preſence might encourage the people of Conſtantinople to reſent Theophilus his tyrany. Hauing loſt a battle, wherin he playd the coward ſo notoriouſly, that he would not uenter to ſaue his life by fighting, or fleeing from the place, untill *Manuel*, one of his Generals, threatned to run him through, if he did not run before him, he would needs attribute the fault and loſs of all, to *Methodius* his idolatry (ſo he calld the Catholiks worship of Images) and in a great fury had his teeth ſtruck out, and himſelf thruſt down into a caue under

Conſt. Manaſſ. Cedren. Zonar.

ground, with two thieues to comfort him, wherof one dying, his body was let lye there, as in a graue. A fisher gaue him euery day a morſel of bread by the Emperors order, to the end his life and torment might be prolongd. There he continued untill that Tyrants death, as ſom ſay; others, that after ſeuen years he ſent for him to reſolue ſom doubts which none elſe could do.

No leſs inhumanly did he torment *Theodore* and *Theophanes*, two brethren, and learned Monks of St Sabas in Paleſtine, who had bin ſent in *Leo* the Armenians perſecution by *Thomas* Patriark of Ieruſalem, to comfort and confirm the Catholiks of Conſtantinople. Theophilus recalld them from their exile, hoping they would be Conformiſts, but finding his threats and promiſes could not incline them to his will, he had them cruelly cudgeld, and an infamous inſcription engraued in their forheads, expreſſing they had bin formerly caſt out of Ieruſalem for their impiety, and now for the ſame banisht from Conſtantinople. In their way to the place of their exile they met with the fisher that fed *Methodius*, who informed them particularly of his ſad condition. They writ to

their fellow ſufferer theſe words. *The Captiues vvho carry crimes vvritten in their foreheads, ſalute the Captiue vvho liues, and yet is dead; him vvho is buried under ground, and is exalted aboue the ſtars.* Methodius anſwered, *The buried man vvho liues, ſalutes his tvvo deere fellovv captiues, thoſe vvhoſe forheads are grac't vvith illuſtrious caracters, thoſe vvhoſe names are vvritten in the book of life.* Not a man eſcap't Theophilus his tyrany, but St *Ioannicius* the Ermit, who wrought ſo many Miracles to confirm the worship of Images that though he reprehended uery ſeuerely the Emperor for maintaining ſo cruely the condemned hereſy of the Iconoclaſts, yet that Tyrant neuer durſt punish him. Nay after that he heard Ioannicius had comforted the Catholiks with profecying to them Theophilus vvould ſoon dye, he was afraid to medle with him. *Act. S. Ioannicy.*

Theophilus hearing of St Ioannicius his profecy, conſulted his Patriark and an old witch, to know who would be his ſucceſſor. Both agreed that his ſon Michael; but the witch added, the ſame Michael would reſtore the worship of Images, and that Iohn would not continue long Patriark. Iohn curſt the witch, and bid the *Ioan. Cedropalat.*

Emperor not belieue her. Howeuer the Emperor ſent for his wife Theodora, and Theoctiſtus his firſt Miniſter of ſtate, and made them ſweare that in caſe himſelf dyed before his ſon came to age, (who was then but three years old) they would neuer permit the ſetting up, or worship of Idols. The Empreſs made no ſcrupule of taking that Oath, becauſe she Knew Images were not Idols. And becauſe the witch told him alſo that after his ſon the family of Martinatius would reign, the Emperor ſent for one of that name he loued uery well, and forc't the poor fellow to be shaued, and make himſelf a Monk. But apprehending more *Theophobus*, one of his own moſt faithfull Generals and ſeruants, than *Martinaſius*, he ſecured him in cloſe priſon. After that Theophilus had bin totaly routed by *Amerumnas* the Calyphe of Siria, and ſeen his Natiue ſoil and Citty of *Amorium* reduced into ashes by that victorious Army, he returned to Conſtantinople, and fell into ſuch a melancoly, and diſentery, that he dyed in a few dayes. A little before his death, he aſſembled the Senat and his chief officers in his chamber, and with many tears and humble words recomended to them his vvife might gouern

gouern during the minority of his son; which they all swore to do. Then he gaue orders to behead out of hand his prisoner *Theophobus*, and to bring him his head to his bed. His orders being obeyd, a little before he expired, he took the head unto his hands, saying these words (which were his last.) *VVell sir, If I shall be no more Theophilus, you shall be no more Theophobus*, and so dyed. *Curopal. Cedren. Zonar.*

Gennadius of Constantinople, who liu'd not aboue 200. years ago, writes, that these were not his last words, but that he repented, and dyed with a Crucifix in his hands, detesting the Iconoclasts heresy. For this he quotes an old Sermon that vvas preacht on the Thankesgiuing day, which, euen to this, the Greeks celebrat with great solemnity for the restoring of the Image worship to their Church. Certain it is, that *Theodora* the Empress had his soul prayd for euery where, and that *Methodius* and other great men did comfort her by giuing hopes of her husbands saluation, which they would neuer haue don, if in lieu of testifying his loue to Christ by embracing a Crucifix, he dyed with his Enemies head in his hands, manifesting therby what hatred hebore him in his heart. *in expesit. pro Concil. Floren. Sess. 5.* *Ex Grat. Theod.* *Cedren. Constant. Manass.*

MICHAEL THE THIRD AND THEODORA.

Hovv politikly and reſolutely Theodora proceeded in reſtoring the Catholik Religion during the minority of her ſon. And hovv unexpectedly she vvas ſeconded therin by Manoel the General, he ſudently altering his former aduice. Methodius vvas choſen Patriark, the Conjurer depoſed, a Councel of Bishops called, and the ſecond œcumenical of Nice reeſtablished, as alſo the Catholik vvorship of Images.

IMmediatly after Theophilus his death, *Theoctiſtus* great Chancelor, and *Manuel* General of the Empire (who by the Emperors laſt will and Teſtament were named Aſſiſtants to his ſon, and vvife in the gouernment) vvayted on them to the *Hippodrome*, and had them ſolemnly crouned *Theodora* ſeing her ſelf abſolute, thought of reſtoring the ancient religious vvorship of Images, vvhich had bin ſuppreſſed neer thirty years, during the reign of the three laſt Emperors. She knew not how it might

be compased without the concurrence of Theoctistus and Manoel; neither was she certain how they would like of such a proposal; though she belieued they were not ill affected towards Catholik Religion, both of them being men of good iudgments, and still auerse to persecution. She resolued at length to sound them in such a manner as they might be persuaded, by what she spoke to them she regarded more the setlement of the state, than the saluation of souls. She told them both, they saw by experience what disturbances and distractions were bred in the Empire by nouelties in Religion; how loath people had bin to part with the old, and how many still adhered to it, notwithstanding the penalties and torments they sufferd, and were subiect unto by the Imperial Edicts. That she feard tender consciences would rather uenter their own temporal destruction by desperat attempts, than expose their yong children and posterity to eternal damnation, by permitting them be bred in a different Religion from the Catholik. That it would be a difficult matter to persuade men of sense, or euen the multitude, the Images of Christ and his Saints, were Idols; or that God did pro-

hibit their worship as idolatry; euery Christian knowing an Image is not God, nor the religious worship therof, *Latria*. That her design in proposing this, was, to be aduised, how the people might be Kept from rebellion by a more rational Religion than that of the Iconoclasts was generaly belieued to be. That a Religion grounded upon temporal Edicts, or upon the letter of Scripture as interpreted by the Emperors lawes, or priuat persons, diuide the subiects into many (at least into two) irreconciliable factions; one wherof (to be fauored and employd by the Prince) will stick to the Religion established by law. The other, to that of their conscience. And though this be commonly the weaker party (as consisting of few) yet the other, though stronger, can not be relyed upon, for that they will forsake their Soueraign for their interest, as well as they did their conscience.

Theoctistus understood her design (which he also desired to see brought to pass) and encouraged her to issue proclamations for liberty of conscience. But Manoel the General, not being sure of the Army, desired the Proclamation might be defer'd untill he had modeld it, orat least moderated the foo-

lish zeal of som officers. This being agreed upon, the matter was hastend by a strange accident. Manuel falling sick, and giuen ouer by the Physitians, and a rumor being spread he was dead, two Monks of saint *Theodore Studitus* his Monastery ran to his house, and finding he yet breathed, they cryd' aloud, bidding him take courage, that they assured him in Gods name he should recouer, in case he resolued to employ his credit and power in restoring the ancient Religion which had bin so long persecuted by the Iconoclasts; and without saying any more, they retired to their Conuent. Whether it was the strength of their Faith, or of Manoels fancy wrought the effect, he was cured, and immediatly after, wayted on the Empress, desiring her Majesty not to delay any longer her Proclamations for liberty of Conscience, and a general Assembly of the Senat, Councel, and Clergy; which she did; and therin the Lord Chancelor in a graue speech declared, how the Empress thought fit to recall the penal lawes against tender consciences, and to leaue the choice of euery ones Religion to themselues, that this was iudged best for the setlement of the Empire. Within a litle time most declared them- *Curopal. Zonar.*

ſelues Catholiks. Wherupon *Methodius* was choſen Patriark, and Iohn the Conjurer depoſed. A Councel of Bishops called, Images reſtored; the ſecond Councel of Nice reeſtablished, the penitent Iconoclaſts reconciled to the Church; a ſolemn thankſgiuing and proceſſion ordeted to continue for euer, on the firſt ſonday of Lent, (which is ſtill obſerued, and called the orthodox ſolemnity) for the ſuppreſſion of the Iconoclaſts reformation, which Laſted about ſixſcore years under ſix Emperors of the ſame profeſſion, as we haue related in this Hiſtory; upon which (to auoyd all mixture of controuerſy) I make only two plain reflexiõs, 1. That the ancient Catholik principles and practiſes agree not with thoſe of Iohn Caluin, and other Proteſtants, who would fain perſuade us that a Religious (though inferior) Worship of Images is Idolatry, or at Leaſt Leades therunto. 2. That the Greekes, and all the Eaſtern Churches agreed with the Roma not only in this point and practiſe, but in all others wherin we now differ from Proteſtants.

I conclude this Hiſtory with begging of my Readers to conſider Whether any indicious Chriſtian can belieue it poſſible

that the goodneſs and Veracity of God would permit the zeal vvhich the Iconoclaſt Emperors and Bishops shewed againſt the vvorship of Images, to haue had bin fruſtrated, and com to nothing, if that vvhorship had bin ſo dangerous and unlawfull as they did then, and Proteſtants now imagin? Certainly God vvould not haue bin vvanting vvith his ordinary concurrenee and helping hand to ſecond their endeuors, if their doctrin had bin the Orthodox; neither vvould he haue permitted the Deuil to haue had the better of himſelf and of his Church in a good cauſe ſo zealouſly proſecuted by the Princes and Paſtors therof. At leaſt it is not credible his prouidence and particular care of the Church vvould not diſcouer and diſcountenance Cheats ſo preiudicial as thoſe Miracles vve haue related in confirmation of Image vvorship, in caſe they vvere not effects of his own Omnipotency, and ſigns of his approbation. VVhat alſo much ſurpriſeth me in this Hiſtory is, that ſo many vviſe and learned men as vvere amongſt thoſe Patriarks, Bishops, and Monks, should ſuffer ſo great variety of torments upon ſo foolish an acount as the worship of Images, if it be ſo cleerly

againſt Scripture as Proteſtants maintain. All I can ſay is, that if the Iconoclaſts and Proteſtants be in the right, all the ancient and preſent Catholik world deſerue damnation, not only for being Idolaters, but for being Idiots, and the greateſt fools in Nature. And yet me thinks their works and writings (yet extant) giue a better caracter of them then to deſerue ſo ſeuere a Cenſure.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 45. *line* 28. forc't.
p. 52. *l.* 4. take.
p. 52. *l.* 10. avvay.
p. 59 *l.* 17. haue no conſcience.
p. 71. *l.* 14. not.
p. 80. *l.* 3. the Pope vvould.
p. 113. *l.* 3. as if it.
p. 118. *l.* 4. ſorts
p. 121. *l.* 20. should.